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CONTENTS

EDITORIAL 4

THE ANABAPTIST THEOLOGY OF MISSIONS 5
Franklin H. Littell

TWO KINDS OF OBEDIENCE. AN ANABAPTIST TRACT ON CHRISTIAN FREEDOM 18
Translated and Edited by John C. Wenger

ATTENDANCE AT MENNONITE SCHOOLS AND COLLEGES 1945-46
Silas Hertzler 23

CANADIAN AGRICULTURAL RECORDS ON MENNONITE SETTLEMENTS 1875-77. 34
Edited by Ernst Correll

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EDITORIAL

THE SPIRIT OF AGGRESSIVE EVANGELISM WHICH WAS SO CHARACTERISTIC of the early Anabaptists and which led large numbers of the Brethren to become devoted and energetic missionaries, has often been obscured by the successful repression of the movement by bitter persecution and the later isolation of the remnants. Franklin H. Littell has rendered a needed service to Anabaptist scholarship by bringing the missionary spirit of the early Anabaptists to a sharp focus in the keen analysis of the evidence for widespread evangelism and the motivation for it presented in his article, "The Anabaptist Theology of Missions." It is surprising, in a sense, that the Brethren took the Great Commission so seriously at a time when the Reformers did not believe in it. Yet, it is perhaps not so surprising when one considers the Anabaptist emphasis on an unprejudiced reading of the New Testament and a wholehearted obedience to Christ, coupled with their thoroughgoing break with the contemporary culture, and their renunciation of force in favor of freedom of conscience. The principle of voluntarism and lay responsibility also played a large role. "Missions" was inevitable for a true Anabaptist. That modern Mennonites were so slow in resuming the missionary enterprise is proof that they had lost something essential in Anabaptist theology and attitudes, namely the sense of mission to the world.

THE ANABAPTISTS WERE CHARGED BY THEIR CONTEMPORARY 16TH CENTURY enemies with being legalistic, and their descendants were frequently accused of similar tendencies in the following centuries. Without doubt the charge, so far as it concerns the Mennonites, has at times been warranted, but it is not true of the fundamental position of the early Anabaptists. This is clearly brought out in the tract, "Two Kinds of Obedience," which appears in this issue as the second in the series of Anabaptist translations by John C. Wenger. Every earnest attempt to conform life to high ethical principles runs the danger of legalism; the safeguard against this danger is primarily the emphasis upon love to God as the motivation of all living. This the unknown Anabaptist writer of the tract, no doubt speaking for his brotherhood, clearly sees and advocates.

THE ANNUAL STATISTICAL SUMMARY OF ATTENDANCE AT MENNONITE schools and colleges by Silas Hertzler reveals no significant trend for 1945-46.

THE THIRD INSTALLMENT OF PUBLIC DOCUMENTS RELATING TO THE MENnonite immigration from Russia 1873-7 presents much new material on this movement, though without changing the basic and familiar picture. The documents printed are taken from printed Annual Reports and from manuscript letters, and are here made available for the first time to research students.

The Mennonite Quarterly Review

Vol. XXI No. 1

THE ANABAPTIST THEOLOGY OF MISSIONS *

FRANKLIN H. LITTELL

Within the lifetime of many present the far places of the earth have come within the instant range of a single voice. We may not take an easy comfort in the fact, for sometimes the voice is that of a subtly insidious or openly demanding anti-Christian ideology. Nevertheless, the fact remains with its enormous consequence for good or evil. If the children of darkness seem often more alert to use the instant communication and ready personal association which are provided, let us learn our lessons quickly. Technical progress has compressed the entire globe into a small and intensely explosive unit. The most successful engagement of the War of 1812, from an American standpoint, was fought four months after the signing of the peace treaty; at the end of World War II, a single explosion in the air above a Japanese city had immediate repercussions from the quiet farms of Iowa to the little Tartar villages of the Crimea. We live in an apocalyptic age when a premonition of things to come weighs heavily upon all who think and feel.

In our awareness of imminent catastrophe—a consciousness shared with contemporaries of many faiths, and none—we must not forget another great eschatological fact which assumes its true proportion only in terms of the Biblical world-view: *that in our own time Christianity has become the first global religion.* There have been several religions of universal prospect, but only in Christianity

*A paper read at the Annual Meeting of the American Society of Church History, New York, Dec. 30, 1946.

do we see the fulfilment of that time of which the prophets dreamed, when men of all races and tongues, all nations and stations and colors, are gathering about the hill of the Lord. The great vision of the 56th chapter of *Isaiah* and the promise of our Lord in the 12th chapter of *John* are being fulfilled in this day of destiny:

> I, when I am lifted up from the earth will draw all men to myself. (John 12:32.)

The tremendous meaning of this present fact should enlighten our historical reviews and enliven our hope for time to come. Neither is this general background remote from our study of a special movement, for the Anabaptists were deeply conscious of the race in history between the end of time and the fulfilment of God's promise to His people.

There is a more immediate reason for providing such a backdrop to a study of the "evangelical Täufer"[1] and their theology of missions. As Dr. Latourette so clearly protrayed it in his presidential address last year, the world expansion of our faith is coming to be more and more a function of the "left wing" of Protestantism. And the map of Christianity shows markedly the signs of a faith less bound by national and racial lines than Christendom of the 16th century, both Roman Catholic and Protestant.

> Protestantism is becoming more weighted on the left wing, radical phases of the movement, more ecumenical and less regional, more inclusive and less a sectarian division, and more varied and yet finding a comprehensive unity which permits and even encourages diversity.

> From the radical wing come a majority of the missionaries who are propagating Christianity in other lands. This means that the world-wide Protestantism of the decades ahead is probably to depart further from the Christianity of pre-Reformation days than has that of Western Europe and the British Isles. Presumably, the trend will be augmented as the "younger churches" in non-Occidental countries mount in strength.[2]

[1] Friedmann, Robert, "Conception of the Anabaptists," *Church History* IX (1940) 341-65, 362. "Anabaptist" was a name given by their enemies, to make them liable to the old Roman death penalty for re-baptizers. "They repudiated the name, insisting that infant baptism did not constitute true baptism and that they were not in reality re-baptizers. Their argument was of no avail. The name was so conveniently elastic that it came to be applied to all those who stood out against authoritative state religion." Evans, Austin Patterson, *An Episode in the Struggle for Religious Freedom: The Sectaries of Nuremberg, 1524-1528* (Columbia University Press, N. Y., (1924) 14-15. Roland H. Bainton has introduced a terminology which efficiently groups the Anabaptists and other radical dissenters from dominant Protestantism, and indicates the heterogeneous character of their protest; "The Left Wing of the Reformation," *The Journal of Religion* XXI (1941) 124-34. For precision, it is better to refer to different groupings: Swiss/South German, Hutterite, Dutch.

[2] Latourette, Kenneth Scott, "A Historian Looks Ahead; The Future of Christianity in the Light of its Past," *Church History* XV (1946), 3-16, 12, 14.

The greatest century of Christian expansion, 1815-1914, was precisely that time when the lay believer in the congregation, rather than the political or economic lord, became the prototype and carrying power of the movement. Rather than continuing to consider that the Christian drama came to an end with the Reformation and that "subsequent events have been akin to curtain calls," whereby "both the scholar and reader are led to the conclusion that in the last four centuries Christianity has been a waning force," we are advised to re-orient our thinking in line with the facts.[3]

The way in which the Great Century has authenticated the faith and testimony of the free churches is clearly indicated in the record. The latest full figures of money and personnel going to the field from the various agencies are conclusive tribute to a church life with mobility.[4] We are free to conclude that the maintenance and implementation of a missionary world-view are more a mark of the voluntary religious associations than of the ancient geographical centers of "Christian civilization,"[5] where congregational life is rendered less mobile by intimate collaboration with political and social centers of power. When we come to this point, it is pertinent to remember that Reformation Europe once had its chance to embrace a pattern of free religious association and rejected it.[6] Ana-

[3] Latourette, Kenneth Scott, "New Perspectives in Church History," *The Journal of Religion* XXI (1941), 432-43, 438.

[4] Parker, Joseph I., ed., *An Interpretative Statistical Survey of the World Mission of the Christian Church* (International Missionary Council, N.Y., 1938), 83-159.

[5] In John Baillie's re-thinking of the concept of the Church implied by the idea of a Christian civilization, he abandons the older, coercive pattern. Baillie, John, *What is Christian Civilization?* (Charles Scribner's Sons, N.Y., 1945). "Such a recovered civilization would clearly be of the open type which alone I am prepared to defend, and in it the older conscriptive idea of the church's authority would have completely given place to the idea of religious freedom . . ." (p. 41). Significant to our present study is Dr. Baillie's word on Infant Baptism: "The question ultimately turns on the measure in which we believe the Church to have been justified in the principles governing its admission to baptism in the various periods.... It has long seemed to me that the element of truth to which too little weight is given by the protesting movements is that contained in the Christian doctrine and practice of the baptism of families . . . . The insight enshrined in this doctrine and practice is that the most likely way to bring men to an individual decision for Christ is to nurture them within a Christian community. This community is in the first place the family, and hence the controversy has always revolved around the baptism of infants born to Christian parents. But it is necessary that something of the same principle should be extended also to . . . larger social units. . . . I believe it wrong to hold as of no account the Christianity which pervades the life of a community before it is confirmed in the personal decision of every individual citizen" (pp. 34-35).

[6] A renowned authority on the Reformation has concluded that the present religious problem in Germany may be due in part to the fact that sectarian Protestantism, which flowered in England and America, was there early destroyed. Bainton, Roland H., *loc. cit.*, 134. It is interesting to note that some contemporary leaders are raising again the old issue of the immobility of the State-church. Pastor Martin Niemöller was recently reported to the effect that he "was raised a Lutheran and did not realize that the traditional Lutheran theology regarding the state was

baptism was suppressed in a welter of blood by Roman Catholic and Protestant authorities, among whom the restraint of Adam of Dietrichstein and Philipp of Hesse, who wanted to convert the radicals rather than kill them, provides only slight relief. Both Rome and dominant Protestantism were committed to the medieval parish pattern,[7] and determined to suppress the independent congregational and freely conceived evangel of the party of the Restitution.

The doctrine of classical Protestantism in regard to compulsion must be rather quickly summarized. The concept of the Church, in the words of Dr. Bates,

> comprehended the entire population of a parish or of a territory, implied infant baptism and coordination with the state system, and tended either toward a rigid absolutism of doctrine and authority . . . or toward a latitudinarian dilution.[8]

It was a continuation of the use of coercion as a method of evangelization, a method in high standing in the Church from the beginning of the fourth century until the emergence of the modern idea of Religious Liberty.

> . . . Consider coercion as a method of evangelization, for, as a matter of fact, it has had a large place in the history of Christianity. The church has depended upon the support of secular forces for the defense and extension of the faith throughout most of its history. Under Constantine the church made an alliance with political power which has never been completely dissolved.[9]

The Anabaptist quarrel with the Reformers was basically a conflict of concepts of the Church. It was not, as Social Democrats have claimed, primarily a matter of class alignment and economic interest.[10] Neither was the conflict due to Anabaptist prophetism, revolutionary violence and social disorder, except for certain mar-

wrong. He now believes that the Church must exercise stronger influence on political life, as in England and America, where the church 'acts as the conscience of the state.'" As reported in *The Lutheran* XXVIII (September 26, 1945), 52:4.

[7] The conflict over the parish system is excellently discussed in Ecke, Karl, *Schwenckefeld, Luther und der Gedanke einer apostolischen Reformation* (Berlin, 1911), pp. 70ff.

[8] Bates, M. Searle, *Religious Liberty: An Inquiry* (N.Y., 1945), 151. On the Reformation era, see pp. 148ff. See also Bainton, Roland H., "The Struggle for Religious Liberty," *Church History* X (1941), 95-124.

[9] White, Hugh Vernon, *A Theology for Christian Missions* (Chicago, 1937), 4.

[10] In such works as Bax, E. Belfort, *Rise and Fall of the Anabaptists* (Swan Sonnenschein & Co., Ltd., London, 1903), Kautsky, Karl, *Communism in Central Europe in the Time of the Reformation* (London, 1897).

ginal groups which the Täufer[11] repudiated vigorously and completely.[12]

If this review of issues seems too sharply "participative," we may be reminded that the problems are still with us. Karl Holl, in stating a few years ago the traditional Lutheran position in regard to the relation of Church and State, concluded:

> Therein our German interpretation is sharply different from the sect-influenced English-American. For us, cohesion in the State, the furthering and deepening of the national community, count for more than the free movement of individuals.[13]

In the theology of missions itself we have Gustav Warneck's correlative conclusions: although the object of the Christian evangel was originally the whole world.

> In the relationships of today there is, however, an obvious limitation to missionary territory, namely that only that nation is the object of a proper mission where the dominant part of mankind is yet conformed outside salvation in Christ, and among whom the Christian Church must first be planted.
>
> . . . But where the Christian territory embraces already a world being Christianized, where there is a School of Christ with an organized minis-

[11] Ernst Troeltsch, relying upon Alfred Hegler's *Geist und Schrift bei Sebastian Franck* (Freiburg i. B., 1892) has given somewhat popular circulation to the important distinction between the Anabaptists proper (whom he calls *"Täufer"*) and the prophetic leaders who arose beside them (*"spiritualisten"*). *The Social Teaching of the Christian Churches* (New York, 1931), footnote 440, p. 949. See also his "Die Täufer und Spiritualisten," in "Protestantisches Christentum und Kirche in der Neuzeit," in P. Hinneberg's *Geschichte der Christlichen Religion: Die Kultur der Gegenwart* (Leipzig & Berlin, 1922).

[12] In spite of the charges of their enemies, the records show that the main-line Anabaptists repudiated revolution and chiliasm. The Swiss early distinguished between themselves and Thomas Müntzer on this issue; see the letter of Conrad Grebel and associates to Müntzer, September 4, 1524, printed in Neff, Christian, ed., *Gedenkschrift zum 400 jährigen Jubiläum der Mennoniten oder Taufgesinnten 1525-1925* (Konferenz der Süddeutschen Mennoniten E.V., 1925), (Ludwigshafen am Rh., 1925) 89-99. The Hutterian condemnation is found, among other places, in Beck, Josef, *ed., Die Geschichts-Bücher der Wiedertäufer in Osterreich-Ungarn* (Wien, 1883): XLIII *Fontes Rerum Austriacarum* (Hist. Comm. Kaiserl. Akad. der Wiss. in Wien), 2te Abth., p. 73. Also, Zieglschmid, A. J. F., *ed., Die älteste Chronik der Hutterischen Brüder* (Carl Schurz Memorial Foundation, Cayuga Press, Inc., Ithaca, N. Y., 1943) 144. On Menno and the Dutch wing: " . . . as before God who knows our hearts, we are clear of all their abominable doctrine, uproar, mutiny, blood-shed, plurality of wives and the like abominations. Yea we hate and from all our heart oppose them as acknowledged heresies, as snares to the conscience and deceit, as deception of souls and pestilential doctrine . . . ." Quoted in Horsch, John, "Menno Simons' Attitude toward the Anabaptists of Münster," *The Mennonite Quarterly Review* X (1936), 55-72, 57. There is ample evidence that the authorities distinguished between the Täufer and the revolutionaries in court, however their polemicists blurred the distinctions in free writing; see Bossert, Gustav, *ed., Quellen zur Geschichte der Wiedertäufer: Herzogtum Württemberg* (Leipzig, 1930), *Quellen und Forschungen zur Reformationsgeschichte* XIII, Numbers 69, 79, 190, 287, etc.

[13] Holl, Karl, "Luther und die Schwärmer," in *Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Kirchengeschichte* (Tübingen I, 1923), 466.

try—also whether the mission has to have its own missionary or not—there is no longer a missionary object.[14]

The Anabaptist church polity and theology of missions assume a proper significance against this background. They developed their apologetic and practice in opposition to what they regarded an unbaptized conformity of the Church to national and political destinies. Their congregations were, as they said, "cut loose from the world." At a time when dominant Protestantism was willing to commit 300 little states to a territorial determination of religion (Augsburg, 1555—*"cuius regio, eius religio")* the Anabaptists were sending their missioners wherever they could get a hearing, for

The earth is the Lord's, and the fulness thereof . . . . (Psalm 24:1)[15]

and no land should be forbidden to the proclamation of the Gospel. Krakau, Aachen, Stockholm, and probably Venice and Salonica, would appear on our map of the movement. Wanderings and exile, for individuals and whole families, fill the annals of the movement. And in their defeat they triumphed; they confessed themselves strangers and pilgrims upon the earth. They elaborated a theology of martyrdom.[16] They developed what we might call a "concept of mobility" in analyzing their doctrines of the Church and its world mission.

The Anabaptists and the Great Commission

We have referred to the Anabaptists as the Party of the Restitution to distinguish them from the Reformers. This reference is not for mere convenience: *Their commanding theme was, in fact, the Restitution of the Early Church.*[17] They looked back to the Church before Constantine, and especially to the Church at Jerusalem (*Acts* 2, 4, 5), as the Golden Age of Christian history. They were fascinated by the Eusebian history of the power and triumph

[14] Warneck, G., *Evangelische Missionslehre* (Gotha, 1892-97), 2½ volumes; *Zimmers Handbibliothek der praktischen Theologie* XVI, III, 2, 3.

[15] This proof-text also appears frequently in the Anabaptist writings. See Jakob Hutter's "Brief an den Landeshauptmann in Mähren," in Müller, Lydia, ed., *Glaubenszeugnisse oberdeutscher Taufgesinnten* (Leipzig, 1938); *Quellen und Forschungen zur Reformationsgeschichte* XX, 163. Pilgram Marpeck criticized the state-church men who wouldn't go unless protected, "and not freely under the cross of Christ"; Horsch, John, *Mennonites in Europe* (Scottdale, Pa., 1942), 315.

[16] See Ethelbert Stauffer, "The Anabaptist Theology of Missions" in *The Mennonite Quarterly Review* XIX (1945), 179-214, translated from "Märtyrertheologie und Täuferbewegung" in *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte* LII (1933), 545-98.

[17] On the frequency of the theme "restitutio" see Bainton, Roland H., "Changing Ideas and Ideals in the Sixteenth Century," *The Journal of Modern History* VIII (1936) 417-43, footnote on p. 428.

of the Early Church[18]; the growth and victory against incredible odds made a mysterious record, a sign of the secret workings of God. But more mysterious still was the fact that in the very hour of her apparent triumph and well-being the Church fell into disgrace. The inspired Church of the martyrs became the persecuting imperial hierarchy, while the true faith went out into the wilderness.

> So after Constantine (it was) above all the communities of heretics which took over and furthered the traditions of the true and precisely for that reason persecuted community of Christ.[19]

The Anabaptists rejected the classical periodization of Christian history. The dark condition of the Church was that time from "the Fall" to their own "Restitution" of New Testament doctrine and ordinances.[20] Their criticisms of the imperial Roman religion are their criticisms of the Reformers: Church and State were amalgamated, empty formalism and spiritual slackness prevailed, infants were baptized into Christianity before their understanding was mature enough to give the association any content. Luther and Zwingli were condemned as "half-way men," because they did not introduce a thorough-going reformation of church life.

The little group of radicals which broke from Ulrich Zwingli in the fall of 1524 represented a studied effort to restore in full the New Testament life of the Early Church.[21] It was Zwingli's

[18] Müller, Lydia, *ed., op. cit.,* xxi.

[19] Stauffer, Ethelbert, "Märtyrertheologie und Täuferbewegung," *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte* (1933) LII, 545-98, 549.

[20] Well discussed in Heyer, Fritz, "Der Kirchenbegriff der Schwärmer," *Schriften des vereins für Reformationsgeschichte* 56 (1939), 156:1-108. pp. 13-15. On the changing periodization of history in the Renaissance and Reformation see Stadelmann, Rudolph, *Vom Geist des ausgehenden Mittelalters* (Halle, 1929); *Deutsche Vierteljahrschrift für Literaturwissenschaft und Geistesgeschichte* XV, 223. Also, Ferguson, Wallace K., "Humanist Views of the Renaissance," *The American Historical Review* (1939) XLV, reprint, pp. 3f.

[21] On the point of origin of Anabaptism: If we narrow the term to those leaders and congregations who established a continuing and disciplined church life, Zürich is plainly the point of origin—and was accepted as such by the Swiss/South Germans, Hutterites and Dutch. In the period before the primary sources were available the judgment of the Lutheran polemicists was accepted; the point of departure was, therefore, Wittenberg. Thus, Otte, Joh. Heinrich, *Annales Anabaptistici* (Basel, 1672), 8. He said the Swiss movement stemmed from Müntzer and Nicholas Storch, and from the work of Martin Borrhaus (Cellarius), who went from Wittenberg to join Oecolampadius, serving as Professor of Theology at the University of Basel until his death in 1564 (p. 15). This point of view is still nursed along by those who wish to show that Luther's idea of the origin and significance of "Anabaptism" was sound; see Robert Friedmann on Heinrich Böhmer's Seminar, *loc. cit.,* p. 344. Gottfried Arnold, with habitual liberality, stated that "Anabaptism" had its origins in two different groups: first, Storch, Stuebner, Cellarius, Müntzer; further *Hubmeyern, Mantzern, Grebeln,* Blaurock. *Kirchen- und Ketzer-Historie* (Frankfort am Mayn, 1700), 2 volumes. Volume II; XVI, XXI, 262f. Both are to be strongly distinguished from Münster; p. 264a. During the summer of 1523 Stumpf and Grebel came to Zwingli and Jud and suggested a separate church; the Reformer said that he would have nothing to do with a "Donatist" church and answered with "he who

intention to bring the whole land over to Protestantism, with the visible church order subject to a Christian magistracy.[22] Conrad Grebel and his associates found the Reformer's continual deference to the Great Council extremely distasteful, and they broke away to gather a congregation disciplined only according to the New Testament.

No words of the Master were given more serious attention by His Anabaptist followers than His final command:

> Go ye therefore, and make disciples of all the nations, baptizing them into the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit: teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I commanded you: and lo, I am with you always, even unto the end of the world. (*Matthew* 28:18-20).
>
> Go ye into all the world, and preach the gospel to every creature. Whosoever believeth and is baptized, the same shall be saved: but whosoever believeth not, the same shall be damned. (*Mark* 16:15-16).

These words seemed to point up His whole teaching in a glorious program comprehending the world. The pilgrim, familiar figure of the Middle Ages, was transformed in the fiery experience of the Anabaptists into an effective evangelist and martyr. His wandering foot-steps and shedding of blood came to be a determined if not always systematic testimony to the influences of lay missioners who counted no cost too dear to them who would walk in the steps of the Crucified.

In right faith the Great Commission is fundamental to individual confession and to a true ordering of the community of believers. *The Master meant it to apply to all believers at all times.* The proof-text appears repeatedly in Anabaptist sermons and apologetic writings. The large body of court testimonies and confessions of faith recently made available indicate its central significance, and the various series of questions prepared by the authorities for use in court indicate that they expected it to be of prime importance.[23]

is not against us is for us" and the Parable of the Tares. From that point separation was assured between those desiring to restore New Testament life and the Reformation party. Egli, Emil, *Die Züricher Wiedertäufer zur Reformationszeit* (Zürich, 1878), 14-17. Also, No. 692 (April ?, 1525) in Egli, Emil, *ed., Actensammlung zur Geschichte der Zürcher Reformation in den Jahren 1519-1533* (Zürich, 1879). 2 volumes. I, 308-14.

[22] Christoffel, R., *Zwingli; or, the Rise of the Reformation in Switzerland* (Edinburgh, 1858), 160-61. Kreutzer, Jakob, "Zwinglis Lehre von der Obrigkeit," *Kirchenrechtliche Abhandlungen 57* (1909), 1-100, p. 64.

[23] Egli, Emil, *ed., op. cit.,* No. 674 (March 16-25, 1525), I, 299: one testified that he slept at home during the services; and besides he had read in his testament "who believes and is baptized. . . . " See also No. 1631 (Dec. 26, 1529), I, 692: here the Great Commission (Mk 16) and the Ban (Mt 18) are linked together as basic ordinances. "Rechenschaft und bekanntnus des glaubens . . . ." (Trieste, 1539)

Our faith stands on nothing other than the command of Christ (*Mat.* 28, *Marc.* 16). For Christ didn't say to his disciples: Go forth and celebrate the Mass, but go forth and preach the Gospel.[24]

The very order of the words convey his intent:

Firstly, Christ said, go forth into the whole world, preach the Gospel to every creature. *Secondly,* he said, whosoever believes, *thirdly*—and is baptized, the same shall be saved. This order must be maintained if a true Christianity is to be erected . . . .[25]

The evangel comes first, then faith, and finally baptism; a failure to respect this Scriptural sequence indicates a lack of respect for the Mind of Christ for His disciples:

Go forth into the whole world and preach the Gospel; whosoever believes and is baptized the same shall be saved; for the preaching of God's word shall go before and not after the baptism, etc . . . .[26]

Baptism of those in whom faith is stirred by the preaching of the Gospel is the logical culmination of the mandate which begins, "Go forth. . . ."

Although the polemic of the party of the Reformers was aimed usually at weak spots in the radicals' armor, the authorities were evidently well aware of the Anabaptist missionary world-view. Justus Menius knew their emphasis and repeated it before attempting refutation: they teach that

no one shall be baptized before he learns and believes because Christ said at the last of Matthew go forth, teach all peoples, and baptize them. *Item,*

stressed *Mark* 16; Müller, Lydia, *ed., op. cit.,* 193. When Hanns Schlaffer was called up before the authorities at Schwatz in 1528, he answered them on *Matthew* 28, *Mark* 16; van Braght, *A Martyrology of the Churches of Christ Commonly Called Baptist* (Hanserd Knollys Society, London, 1850-53), I, 50. The central authority in Hübmaier's "Von dem christl. Tauff der Gläubigen" is *Matthew* 28:29; see Sachsse, Carl, *D. Balthasar Hubmaier als Theologe* (Berlin, 1914), *Neuen Studien zur Geschichte der Theologie und der Kirche,* XX, 19-20. Schornbaum, Karl, *ed., Quellen zur Geschichte der Wiedertäufer: Markgraftum Brandenburg* (Leipzig, 1934), *Quellen und Forschungen zur Reformationsgeschichte,* XVI:2, No. 260 (May, 1531), pp. 236-37: Questions prepared for the Windesheim *Wiedertäufer* indicate the authorities' expectation of testimony based on the Great Commission and the *Acts.* Zeiglschmid, A. J. F., *ed., op. cit.,* 31.

[24] Beck, Josef, *ed., op. cit.,* 62, 64 (Hanss Schlaffer).

[25] Müller, Lydia, *ed., op. cit.,* 15 (Hans Hut), 92 (Hanss Schlaffer), 112. B. Hübmaier wrote to the authorities that he knew of no other order but preach, believe, baptize; Egli, Emil, *ed., op. cit.,* I, 449. When at St. Gall Uolimann was summoned before the Council, April 25, 1525, for going on his own authority with Baptism and the Supper, he said the original order was teaching, believing, baptizing; and this lasted to the time of Tertullian and Cyprian when they began to baptize sick children. See Heath, Richard, *Anabaptism from its Rise at Zwickau to its Fall at Münster* (London, 1895), 39. (Contains interesting material in spite of an erroneous thesis.)

[26] Schornbaum, Karl, *ed., op. cit.,* No. 44 (Sept. 20, 1527), p. 34 (Hans Spitelmair).

the last of Mark: Whosoever believes and is baptized the same shall be saved. But children cannot be taught anything/therefore they also can not believe/therefore man shall also not baptize them.[27]

Menius denies flatly that the Great Commission was intended for Christians after the time of the Apostles.

. . . the Apostles not only ordered themselves but also through their disciples and in their writings, teachings, and examples left after them how it should be done with the calling of the Servants of the Gospel in the Church; namely that the Servant of the Gospel does not travel here and there in the land in one church today and another tomorrow, preaching one thing in one and another in the other. But one servant serves with true industry his assigned church and remains with it, leaving other churches to peace and tranquillity. Thereby each church has its own constituted servant and avoids and excludes strange, unlicensed landcombers. . . .[28]

Heinrich Bullinger was also bitterly critical of those who subverted the social order by leaving their callings to wander in the land.[29] The Reformers could not understand the apparent instability of one who . . . had a wife and four children, no home place and was the citizen of no city,[30] for they were concerned to carry over from medieval civilization those relationships which made for a stable society. But to the religious radical, driven by persecution and the Lord's Commission, these were "worldly concerns." We can hear him say to the authorities of Church and State who tried to hold him fast in his "natural" responsibilities:

I no longer live but Christ in me and the world crucified in me.[31]

A Missionary Community

Although Believers' Baptism *(Spättaufe, Erwachsenentaufe)* was not the heart of the argument, still it became a ready mark of those who stood firm in the faith at the cost of persecution. "Standing still" was a sign of cowardice, in the opinion of the chief leaders of the Anabaptist movement.[32] The Great Commission was the

[27] Menius, Justus, *Von dem Geist der Widerteuffer* (Wittemberg, 1544), folio Liij.

[28] *Ibid.*, no pagination.

[29] Bullinger, Heinrich, *Der Widerteuffern ursprung/fürgang/secten/wäsen/usw.* (Zurich, 1560), 148b.

[30] An Anabaptist examined by Joh. Brenz; Bossert, Gustav, *ed., op. cit.*, No. 169 (April 9, 1557), p. 146.

[31] Müller, Lydia, *ed., op. cit.*, 214 (Ulrich Stadler).

[32] The gathering of a community with New Testament discipline (spiritual government according to *Matthew* 18:15-17) was the ground of the Anabaptists' running controversy with Schwenckfeld. Pilgram Marpeck and his associates held to a vigorously covenantal teaching, and repudiated Schwenckfeld for refusing to use believers' baptism which the latter termed a new captivity of the conscience. He was moved to study the question by Menius' book and urged suspension of Infant Baptism. On the other hand he opposed the Anabaptists' insistence upon becoming

stock argument for the use of the sign. The Article on Baptism in the Five Articles (c.1547), a Confession of Faith and second most important document of the Hutterians, found its cornerstone in *Matthew* 28 and *Mark* 16.[33] Hans Hut, foremost missioner of the South German Brethren, used a standard formula as he baptized hundreds: he told them to obey the commandments, preach the Gospel, and baptize others in the Great Commission.[34]

> The word which stands in Mark 16 had moved him to preach, namely, that preaching was first, afterwards faith, and thirdly baptism. And man must let the word of the Lord stand. (He is) not to do anything apart from it, (and) also shall depart neither to the right nor to the left, according to the last of Matthew that one shall first teach and afterwards baptize.[35]

The evidence from other groups and leaders is of a kind. The freely spoken evangel was the moving force in a complete re-working of the Old Man, whose crucifixion and re-birth in faith were sealed by the sign. Only those of mature judgment, passed through a crucial and transforming adult experience, could rightly be let through the door into a responsible covenantal relation to God and his fellows, for the strenuous life of a Christian wanderer and martyr is no child's play *(kein kinderspiel!)*.[36]

The Anabaptist missionary impulse was crippled by persecution among the South Germans and Swiss and by prosperity among the Dutch Mennonites. Only two or three of the famous Martyr Synod which met in Hans Denck's house in Augsburg, August 20, 1527,

Children of God by faith baptism. The Spirit moveth where it listeth . . . (John 3:8). "Von dem Kindertauf," in *Corpus Schwenck feldianorum* (ed. Johnson, Elmer E. S., for the Bd. of Publ. of the Schwenckfelder Church and Hartford Theological Seminary, 1907ff), III, 812-24, 816. Also, X, 932. The Anabaptists replied that he would not have been satisfied with Christ's Church if contemporary with Him and that Believers' Baptism and the Ban were biblical ordinances given by Christ for the maintenance of His Church. Loserth, Johann, "Studien zu Pilgram Marpeck" in Neff, Christian, *ed., op. cit.,* 134f, 150. See VII *CS* 161ff for bibliography on the relation of the Anabaptists and Schwenckfeld.

[33] Zieglschmid, A. J. F., *ed., op. cit.,* 269ff. See also p. 60: Baptism stands on *Mark* 16, *Matthew* 28 (Hanss Schlaffer, 1528). And on pp. 250f, a statement by Gabrielites who joined the Hutterians in 1545 begins with Baptism, based on *Matthew* 28 and *Mark* 16. See Müller, Lydia, *ed., op. cit.,* 236f. At an examination of various people at Erlangen, 1527, Hans Ritter the Nodler said: 1) the Lord commanded "go ye . . ."; 2) man must submit under God as animals under man; 3) they went to flowing water, filled a hat and poured; Schornbaum, Karl, *ed., op. cit.,* No. 16. p. 16. In the Confession of an Anabaptist at Antwerp, 1551: "Question. 'What do you hold concerning infant baptism?' Answer. 'I consider it nothing else than a human institution.' Qu. 'By what then will you prove, or establish your baptism.' Ans. 'By *Mark* xvi.'" van Braght, T. J., *op. cit.,* I, 436-37.

[34] Schornbaum, Karl, *ed., op. cit.,* No. 353 (April 27, 1534), 338.

[35] "Urgicht . . . 16. September 1527," in Meyer, Christian, "Zur Geschichte der Wiedertäufer in Oberschwaben: 1. Die Anfänge des Wiedertäuferthums in Augsburg," *Zeitschrift des Historischen Vereins für Schwaben und Neuberg* (1874) I, 207-56, 223.

[36] So one writer concluded, referring to the excellent example of the Master, baptized by John in his 30th year; Müller, Lydia, *ed., op. cit.,* 93.

lived to see the fifth year of the movement. (This meeting could as well be termed a "Missionary Synod" as "Martyr Synod," for the outstanding leaders of that wing of the movement were all there and divided the land for systematic cultivation.)[37] But among the Hutterites, where some provisional peace was enjoyed for a season, a highly ordered and well-supported missionary work was maintained. Their rich epistolary literature, in which we see again the faith and style of communication of the Early Church, has been analyzed by Dr. Robert Friedmann. He has listed about four hundred epistles and similar writings, composed by seventy-five to eighty writers.

> Of these writers, about half (that is forty) were martyrs, having been executed by fire or sword. Most of them were ministers of the word (*Diener des Wortes*) or missionaries (*Sendboten*).[38]

The richest period of all was the so-called Golden Era under the Elder *(Vorsteher)* Peter Walpot, 1565 to 1578, just before the Jesuit reaction scattered the faithful in Moravia and drove a small remnant to a new frontier home. Some of the writings are naively winsome, and all indicate a lay faith of very high order.

The Anabaptists looked for the triumph of the true faith by the Pauline missions-method, and they knew the ground of their opposition to the establishment. The brother, Veith Uhrmacher, many years in a Salzburg dungeon "for the sake of God's truth," reported his conversation with Roman Catholic priests who came to convert him. They said,

> Saint Peter says, "be willing to give account." Upon which I said, "What shall I say? You are prosecutor and judge all in one person. What you cannot decide, constables and hangmen have to carry out in your place. You tell it to the prince, the prince tells it to the judge, the judge tells it to the constable, and the constable tells it to the hangman. He then finishes up the case. He is your high priest, he helps you to win the field![39]

The proof that the so-called Christians *(vermainten Christen)* were not truly Christian was in their use of compulsion in matters of faith.[40]

The true Christian is fighting a different battle with different weapons from those of the world.

[37] See article by Hege, "Augsburger Täufergemeinde," in *Mennonitisches Lexikon* I (ed. Hege, Christian and Neff, Christian), Frankfurt und Weierhof (Pfalz), 1913—, I, 92-96; also Hege's article "Märtyrersynode," *Mennonitisches Lexikon* III (1938), 53-56.

[38] Friedmann, Robert, "The Epistles of the Hutterian Brethren," *M. Q. Review* XX (1946) 147-77, 153.

[39] *Ibid.,* 160-61.

[40] Zieglschmid, A. J. F., *ed., op. cit.,* 183.

The angel with the sword in the mouth indicates that for us Christians also the sword does not belong in the hand, but in the mouth—namely, the sword of the Spirit.[41]

The martyr church is able to establish its place in history in terms of its suffering.[42] It is the wolf which drives others: the sheep is a poor defenseless beast. The Bible, which tells of the Good Shepherd, frequently calls His flock "the sheep."

By sheep Christians alone were meant. A sheep is a meek, weaponless, submissive beast, that has no other defence for itself than to run as long as it can and may. And it resembles the governance of the sword not at all, as little as a sheep resembles a wolf or lion.[43]

The Anabaptists made much of the struggle and suffering in *Hebrews* 11:33-38, and the analogy between baptism and death ("blood-baptism"), in restoring the eschatology and martyr theology of the Early Church.

And there are three that bear witness in earth, the spirit, and the water and the blood: and these three agree in one. (*I John* 5:8)[44]

Martyrdom was their carrying power, their triumph beyond obvious defeat, their final long pilgrimage free from the world and its particularisms.

Accepted by the common people but savagely persecuted by the authorities, driven to death and exile by the enemies of the Restitution of New Testament church life, the Anabaptists did not lose their faith that the Master was gathering His people from the far corners of the earth and that in His own good time God would give them the kingdom.

[41] In the Five Articles (c. 1547); Müller, Lydia, *ed., op. cit.*, 252.

[42] On the relation of their missionary power to willingness to suffer, note Heyer, Fritz, *loc. cit.*, 20-21.

[43] Müller, Lydia, *ed., op. cit.*, 249.

[44] On the three-fold baptism see Leonhard Schiemer in Müller, Lydia, *ed., op. cit.*, 77f.

TWO KINDS OF OBEDIENCE

AN ANABAPTIST TRACT ON CHRISTIAN FREEDOM

TRANSLATED AND EDITED BY JOHN C. WENGER

Introduction

One of the most valuable books in the Mennonite Historical Library of Goshen College is a German *Sammelband,*[1] two thirds of which is devoted to a concordance, while the remaining third consists of nine Swiss Brethren items: The Schleitheim Confession of Faith, 1527;[2] Sattler's Letter to the Horb Congregation, 1527;[3] Sattler's Trial and Martyrdom, 1527;[4] A Treatise on The Satisfaction (Atonement) of Christ;[5] A Tract on Two Kinds of Obedience; and several other epistles and tracts. Herewith is presented an English translation of Item Six of the Collection, a tract entitled, *Von zweyerley gehorsam.*

The tract is anonymous and the date and place of composition are unknown. It is evident however that the treatise was written by a member of the Swiss Brethren group, either by Michael Sattler or by someone close to him theologically. The tract makes the same doctrinal assumptions as the Schleitheim Confession of Faith and the treatise, *Concerning the Satisfaction of Christ.* It was probably written between 1525 and 1530.

The first sentence of the tract is its theme: *Es ist zweyerley gehorsam / ein Knechtischer vñ Kindtlicher.* . . . Here are some of the leading concepts of the tract: (1) Filial obedience, explains the Swiss Brethren writer, springs from love, while servile obedience originates in selfishness. Love, declares the writer, is incomparably more effective in producing a redeemed life than is legalism. (2) In the second paragraph[6] the writer anticipates a casuistical charge of antinomianism and dismisses it by pointing out that filial obedience is both higher and better than loveless conformity to the letter of law. (3) Only Christian freedom makes possible the creation of Christian character. Legalism starves the souls of men whether it be the Old Testament variety or a contemporary

[1] *The Mennonite Quarterly Review,* XVI (April, 1942), 82-98.
[2] *Ibid.,* XIX (October, 1945), 243-253.
[3] T. J. van Braght: *Martyrs' Mirror* (Scottdale, 1938), 418-420.
[4] *Ibid.,* 416-418.
[5] *The Mennonite Quarterly Review,* XX (October, 1946).
[6] The paragraphing is not in the original but is the translator's.

sixteenth-century type. (4) The chief function of the Law, however, is a good one, namely to prepare sinners for redemption. Were it not for the Law of God men would go to perdition drowned in an ocean of "love for the creature." (5) The author makes the familiar Anabaptist distinction between the lower ethical standards of the Old Testament and the higher law of the New. (6) He then writes a description of Christian faith and life, made up of Biblical phrases taken from the words of Christ. (7) The tract closes with a paragraph which evinces a militant spirit of resistance to the accusations of and persecution by the state churches.[7] The author has moreover absolute confidence in the providential care of God in the present, and he looks forward to a divine vindication when the judgment scenes of the Apocalypse shall be enacted.

The Anabaptists, as Johannes Kessler, 1502-74, observed, insisted "even more vigorously than the papists on righteous works."[8] The state churchmen of the sixteenth century, in a vain attempt to crush the Anabaptist movement, sometimes charged the Brethren with condoning and practicing gross immorality, while at other times they claimed that the Anabaptists were neo-legalists, devoid of any appreciation of God's grace—*Werkheilige,* they said, who claimed to be a church without spot or wrinkle—perfectionists. The Schleitheim Confession attests at once to the moral earnestness of the Swiss Brethren and to their need of disciplining failing members of the group. The *Sammelband* treatise on the atonement, breathing the same spirit of New Testament Christianity, shows clearly that the Brethren believed alike that salvation was solely by the grace of God and that holiness of life was the earthly earmark of being God's child. The chief contribution of the present tract on Christian Obedience is its refutation of the unfounded notion that the Brethren were cold legalists, followers of the letter of the law, slavish conformers to Biblicism or even to church rules. The tract, produced as it was in the heat of battle, is perhaps somewhat lacking in literary unity, but its insights, its wholesome point of view, and its sturdy faith, make it after all a charming little treatise. The text of the tract follows in translation.

[7] See John Horsch's articles, "The Struggle Between Zwingli and the Swiss Brethren in Zurich," *M. Q. R.,* VII (July, 1933), 142-161; "An Inquiry into the Truth of Accusations of Fanaticism and Crime against the Early Swiss Brethren," VIII (January, 1934), 18-31; VIII (April, 1934), 73-89; "The Persecution of the Evangelical Anabaptists," XII (January, 1938), 3-26.

[8] *Johannes Kesslers Sabbata,* St. Gallen, 1902, 148.

TWO KINDS OF OBEDIENCE

Obedience is of two kinds, servile and filial. The filial has its source in the love of the Father, even though no other reward should follow, yea even if the Father should wish to damn His child; the servile has its source in a love of reward or of oneself. The filial ever does as much as possible, apart from any command; the servile does as little as possible, yea nothing except by command. The filial is never able to do enough for Him; but he who renders servile obedience thinks he is constantly doing too much for Him. The filial rejoices in the chastisement of the Father although he may not have transgressed in anything; the servile wishes to be without chastisement although he may do nothing right. The filial has its treasure and righteousness in the Father whom it obeys only to manifest His righteousness; the servile person's treasure and piety are the works which he does in order to be pious. The filial remains in the house and inherits all the Father has; the servile wishes to reject this and receive his lawful (*gesatzten*) reward. The servile looks to the external and to the prescribed command of his Lord; the filial is concerned about the inner witness and the Spirit. The servile is imperfect and therefore his Lord finds no pleasure in him; the filial strives for and attains perfection, and for that reason the Father cannot reject him.

The filial is not contrary to the servile, as it might appear, but is better and higher. And therefore let him who is servile seek for the better, the filial; he dare not be servile at all.

The servile is Moses and produces Pharisees and scribes;[9] the filial is Christ and makes children of God. The servile is either occupied with the ceremonies which Moses commanded or with those which people themselves have invented; the filial is active (*schefftig*) in the love of God and one's neighbor; yet he also submits himself (*unterwindet er sich*) to the ceremonies for the sake of the servants that he may instruct them in that which is better and lead them to sonship (*kindschafft*). The servile produces self-willed and vindictive people; the filial creates peaceable and mild-natured persons; the servile is severe (*schwer*) and gladly arrives quickly at the end of the work; the filial is light and directs its gaze to that which endures (*die were*). The servile is malevolent (*ungünstig*) and wishes no one well but himself; the filial would gladly have all men to be as himself. The servile is the Old Covenant, and had the promise of temporal happiness (*seligkeit*);[10] the filial is the New Covenant, and has the promise of eternal happiness, namely, the Creator Himself. The servile is a beginning and preparation for happiness; the filial is the end and completion (*volkomenheit*) itself. The servile endured for a time; the filial will last forever. The servile was a figure and shadow; the filial is the body and truth.

The servile was established to reveal and increase sin;[11] the filial follows to do away with and extirpate the revealed and increased sin.

[9] By Pharisees and scribes the author probably has in mind theologians who use their learning to wrangle about dogma and to evade the real issues involving a surrender to Christ and obedience to His Word. Cf. the tract, "Concerning the Satisfaction of Christ," *M.Q.R.*, XX (October, 1946).

[10] Cf. Pilgram Marpeck's emphasis on the inferiority of Old Testament blessings. See John C. Wenger, "The Life and Work of Pilgram Marpeck," *M.Q.R.*, XII (July, 1938), 137-166, especially p. 162; "The Theology of Pilgram Marpeck," XII (October, 1938), 205-256, especially pp. 230f.

[11] An allusion to Romans 5:20.

For if a man wish to escape from sin he must first hate it, and if he would hate it he must first know (*erkennen*) it, and if he would know it there must be something to stir up and make known his hidden sin.[12] Now it is Law or Scripture which does this: for as much as the Law demands, that much more the man turns from God to that which he has done, justifies himself therein, by his accomplishments,[13] clings thereto as to his treasure and the greater such love becomes the more and the greater will grow his hatred for God and for his neighbor. For the more and the closer a man clings to the creature the farther he is from God. The more he desires the creature the less he will have of the Creator. Moreover the law gives occasion to people to depart farther from God, not because of itself (for it is good[14]) but because of the sin which is in man. This is also the reason why Paul says that the law was given that it might increase sin, that sin might thereby become known. Yea, the law is the strength of sin[15] and therefore it is just like the servile obedience, that is, obedience to law, which leads people into the most intense (*höchsten*) hatred of God and of one's neighbor. Therefore filial obedience is a certain way through which man escapes from (*abkomet*) such hatred and receives the love of God and of one's neighbor. Therefore as one administers death, the other administers life. The one is the Old Testament; the other, the New.

According to the Old Testament only he who murdered was guilty of judgment; but in the New, he also who is angry with his brother. The Old gave permission for a man to separate from his wife for every reason; but not at all in the New, except for adultery. The Old permitted swearing if one swore truly, but the New will know of no swearing. The Old has its stipulated punishment (*raach*), but the New does not resist the evil.

The Old permitted hatred for the enemy; the New loves him who hates, blesses him who curses, prays for those who wish one evil; gives alms in this manner that the left hand does not know what the right has done; says his prayer secretly without evident and excessive babbling of mouth;[16] judges and condemns no one; takes (*zeuget*) the mote out of the eye of one's brother after having first cast the beam out of one's own eye; fasts without any outward pomp and show (*misszierung*); is like a light which is set on a candlestick and lightens everyone in the house; is like a city built on a hill, being everywhere visible; is like good salt that does not become tasteless, being pleasing not to man but to God alone;[17] is like a good eye which illuminates the whole body; takes no anxious thought about clothing or food, but performs his daily and upright tasks; does not cast pearls before swine (*sewe*), nor that which is holy before dogs; seeks, asks and knocks; finding, receiving and having the door opened for him; enters through the narrow way and the small gate; guards himself from the Pharisees and scribes as from false prophets; is a good tree and brings forth good fruit; does the will of his Father, hearing what he should do, and then doing it.

12 Cf. Romans 7:7-11.

13 ". . . so viel mehr keret sich der mensch vonn Gott ab/zu den das er gethon hat/rechtfertiget sich damit/als mit den seinen/. . . ."

14 Cf. Romans 7:12f.

15 I Corinthians 15:56.

16 ". . . One [*ohne*] offentlichs vnd vieles plappern des mundes/. . . ."

17 ". . . /gleich als gut saltz das nicht thumb wirt/die net nicht dem man/sonder Gott allein/. . . ."

[The church of true believers][18] is built upon Christ the chief cornerstone; stands against all the gates of hell, that is, against the wrathful judgment of the Pharisees, of the mighty ones of earth, and of the scribes; is a house and temple of God, against which no wind and no water may do anything, standing secure, so that everything else which withstands the teaching which proceeds from it, denying its truth, may itself finally give evidence that it is a dwelling of God[19]—although it is now maligned (*gescholten*) by the Pharisees and scribes as a habitation of the devil: yea, finally they shall hear, Behold, the tabernacle of God is with men, and He will dwell with them, and they shall be His people, and God Himself shall be with them, and be their God, etc.[20] But of the house of the Pharisees and scribes, it shall be said, Babylon the great is fallen, is fallen, and is become the habitation of devils, and the hold of every foul spirit, and a cage of every unclean and hateful bird, etc.[21] But to God (through whom everything which boasts that is not, may be manifested that it is)[22] be all honor, praise and glory through His beloved Son, our Lord and Brother Jesus Christ, Amen.

[18] Material in brackets supplied by the translator.

[19] ". . . /ist ein Haus vnd Tempel Gottes/gegen welches kein wind/kein wasser etwas vermag/bleibet wol/das ist/so doch alles ander/so darwider ficht/das es nicht seye/darfür es sich jetzund ausgibt/entlich durch dieses erweiset mus werden/ das es ein wonung Gottes ist/. . . ."

[20] Revelation 21:3.

[21] Revelation 18:2.

[22] ". . . (durch welchen alles/so sich rhümet das es nicht ist/des so es ist/ erwiesen wird werden). . . ." Perhaps this is an allusion to Romans 4:17, but the reference which the writer intended is not entirely clear.

ATTENDANCE AT MENNONITE SCHOOLS AND COLLEGES, 1945-46

SILAS HERTZLER

The secularism of the public schools of our country has permeated the thinking of most American youth. Far too many Mennonite young people have allowed the materialism of our time to displace an evangelical spiritual emphasis in their lives. In order to try to build a more spiritual outlook in the church, Mennonite high schools and colleges were established. It is now being realized that at best, high schools and colleges have many impressions to correct when secularism has been implanted into the minds of children in the public elementary schools. For this reason there is a renewed interest in having elementary schools with a distinctly Christian emphasis. An article on this parochial elementary school movement is soon to appear in *The Mennonite Quarterly Review*. The outgrowth of this spirit has been not only an increase in the attendance in the existing Mennonite schools, but a number of new schools. The statistics for 1945-46 include returns from twenty schools. The names and locations of the schools follows.

Goshen College, Goshen, Indiana
Bethel College, North Newton, Kansas
Tabor College, Hillsboro, Kansas
Bluffton College, Bluffton, Ohio
The Mennonite Biblical Seminary, 3435 Van Buren, Chicago 24, Illinois
Grace Bible Institute, 1515 South Tenth Street, Omaha 8, Nebraska
Eastern Mennonite School, Harrisonburg, Virginia
Hesston College and Bible School, Hesston, Kansas
Rosthern Junior College, Rosthern, Saskatchewan
Mennonite Collegiate Institute, Gretna, Manitoba
Freeman Junior College, Freeman, South Dakota
Mennonite Brethren Bible College, 77 Kelvin St., Winnipeg, Manitoba
Lancaster Mennonite School, R. 4, Lancaster, Pennsylvania
Immanuel Bible School and Academy, Reedley, California
Corn Bible School and Academy, Corn, Oklahoma
Oklahoma Bible Academy, Meno, Oklahoma
The Mennonite Bible Academy, North Newton, Kansas
Rockway Mennonite School, R. 3, Kitchener, Ontario
Iowa Mennonite School, Kalona, Iowa
Zoar Academy, Inman, Kansas

Five new schools are listed for the first time in this report. However, the Mennonite Bible Academy, while listed separately for the first time, was included previously as part of the Bethel College report. Statistics are included for the first time for the

Mennonite Brethren Bible College, but these are for the attendance for the second year of that school. The Mennonite Biblical Seminary is a new Bible college largely on the graduate school level. Two new Mennonite academies were begun during the school year 1945-46. These were the Rockway Mennonite School and the Iowa Mennonite School.

The various institutions in Table I are listed in the order of total attendance. This total is considerably larger for Goshen College and for Eastern Mennonite School, due to the large number of six weeks Bible term students, and correspondence students. The grand total of 3,747 is 553 larger than for the year 1944-45, which was the previous year with the largest attendance. This increase is due in part to the new schools listed above, as well as to increased attendance in previously existing schools.

Table II classifies students of college grade, by classes. The total college attendance is shown to be 1716. The largest attendance in previous years was for the school year 1940-41, with a total of 1581. This shows that the present year is 135 higher than at any previous time.

Table III classifies secondary school students in the same way that the previous table lists college students. Once again the final total of all students below college grade is larger than for any previous year. This year's total of 2031 is 71 more than for the school year 1944-45. The addition of two new high schools to the list of previous years accounts entirely for this increase.

Table IV lists attendance from 20 Mennonite groups in 20 secondary schools and colleges. Two group names are entirely new this year. Four or more others do not refer to separate Mennonite conferences, but rather in most cases only to congregations that have not affiliated themselves with any conference. The total of 3265 Mennonite students is 625 more than for the previous record year of 1936-37.

It is rather interesting to observe that, with the very large total increase in attendance of Mennonite students reported in the previous paragraph, the non-Mennonite part of the student body actually decreased a total of 97 students over the previous year. Table V gives the details for the various schools. As one would expect, the bulk of the non-Mennonite attendance is in the three largest schools.

The home states, provinces and countries of the Mennonite students are given in detail in Table VI. Students are at home in 34 of the 48 states. Three were added to the list of the previous

year. Five Canadian provinces and four foreign countries also are represented. More Mennonite students came from Kansas and from Pennsylvania than from any other two states, with Kansas showing the largest attendance.

As reported for the school year 1945-46, in Table VII, non-Mennonite students are at home in 22 states, in Puerto Rico, in the District of Columbia, and in 3 Canadian provinces. The largest number of non-Mennonite students are from Ohio and from Indiana.

Mennonite students of college and high school grade for the various schools are reported in Tables VIII and IX. Both tables show a marked increase in attendance over the previous year. There are still many more Mennonite secondary school students than college students, though the increase during the past year was more marked in the college field.

Summer attendance is reported in Table X for the six schools where summer sessions were held. These totals include duplicates for the regular school year, but they do show an attendance increase of 37 over the previous summer. One additional school conducted a summer session in 1945.

As in past years Table XI is incomplete. This is true because three schools did not give exact data on the number of men and women students, though they did give the total for both together.

Table XII adds one more year to the statistics given for the previous seventeen years. The greater totals are in part interpreted in the preceding paragraphs. The 1678 college students include the 27 graduate students as reported by two schools. Perhaps a new column should soon be added to this table to point these students out in particular.

Table XIII gives graduation data, though these are incomplete because Rosthern Junior College reports that the diplomas for their students are given by the Department of Education of Saskatchewan, and are therefore not reported. One B.D. degree was reported at Tabor, though this school lists no graduate students. The Th.B. degree continues to be interpreted differently by the various schools, since it represents one year beyond the B.A. at Goshen, and is a degree representing four years of training similar to the B.A. at the other schools. A total of 145 degrees were granted at seven schools as contrasted with 116 degrees at five schools one year earlier. Three graduate M.R.E. degrees were granted for the first time by the Mennonite Biblical Seminary. Other diplomas are listed in detail in the table. The total of 571 is 80 more than the number reported last year.

Table I

Total Enrollment in Mennonite Schools and Colleges, 1945-46

School	Graduate Bible	College	Academy	Bible	Other Depts.	Total Enrollment
Eastern Mennonite School		145[1]	286	93	126[2]	650
Goshen College	14	448		99[3]	30[4]	591
Bethel College		274			76[5]	350[6]
Hesston College and Bible School		56	199	18	34[2]	307
Tabor College		208	41			249
Bluffton College		165			57[7]	222
Lancaster Mennonite School			191	2		193
Grace Bible Institute		168[8]				168
Rosthern Junior College		55	112			167
Mennonite Collegiate Institute		42	113			155
Freeman Junior College		14	106			120
Immanuel Bible School			120			120
Corn Bible School and Academy			92			92
Oklahoma Bible Academy			80	3		83
The Mennonite Bible Academy			78			78
Mennonite Brethren Bible College		72[9]				72
Rockway Mennonite School			39			39
Iowa Mennonite School			38			38
Zoar Academy			28			28
The Mennonite Biblical Seminary	13	4			8[10]	25
Total	27	1651	1523	215	331	3747

[1] Includes 12 summer school students, exclusive of duplicates
[2] Includes summer school students, exclusive of duplicates
[3] Bible term students for six weeks
[4] Correspondence students of college grade
[5] Noncredit music students
[6] In this report the Mennonite Bible Academy is listed separately
[7] Fine arts students not of college rank
[8] Bible students of college grade
[9] Bible students presumably of college grade
[10] Eight students enrolled in a home study course

Table II

Enrollment by Classes, College Students, Mennonite Schools and Colleges, 1945-46

College	Post Graduates	Seniors	Juniors	Sophomores	Freshmen	Special	Summer	Other Depts.	Total
Goshen	14	53	57	74	124	60	80[1]	30[7]	492
Bethel		32	33	51	72	21	65[1]		274
Tabor		16	28	51	86	12	15[1]		208
Grace		8	28	23	109				168
Bluffton		14	19	27	54	24	27[1]		165
E.M.S.		10	8	29	57	5	12[1]	24[2]	145
M.B.B.C.				24	40	8[3]			72
Hesston				13	36[4]	3		4[5]	56
Rosthern					55				55
M.C.I.					42				42
M.B.S.	13				4			8[6]	25
Freeman					13	1			14
Total	27	133	173	292	692	134	199	66	1716

[1] Exclusive of duplicates. [2] Evening students. [3] Unclassified students. [4] Includes 9 Christian workers students. [5] Tutoring students. [6] Home study students. [7] Correspondence students of college grade.

Table III

Enrollment by Classes, Students Not of College Grade, Mennonite Schools and Colleges, 1945-46

School	Seniors	Juniors	Sophomores	Freshmen	Special	Bible	Other Depts.	Total
E.M.S.	76	77	51	71	11	93	126[1]	505
Hesston	63	56	48	32		18	34[1]	251
L.M.S.	36	45	36	74		2		193
Immanuel	21	28	35	36				120
M.C.I.		64	28	21				113
Rosthern		62	33	17				112
Freeman	22	33	18	33				106
Goshen						99		99
Corn	22	21	19	28	2			92
Oklahoma	21	16	26	16	1	3		83
M.B.A.	12	18	25	21	2			78
Bethel							76[2]	76
Bluffton							57[3]	57
Tabor	17	10	6	8				41
Rockway			11	27	1			39
Iowa			8	30				38
Zoar		10	7	11				28
Total	290	440	351	425	17	215	293	2031

[1] Correspondence students. [2] Noncredit music students. [3] Fine arts students not of college rank.

Table IV

Mennonite Students in Mennonite Schools and Colleges, 1945-46

Denomination	E.M.S.	Goshen	Hesston	Bethel	Tabor	Lancaster	Rosthern	M.C.I.	Grace	Immanuel	Freeman	Bluffton	Corn	Oklahoma	M.B.A.	M.B.B.C.	Rockway	Iowa	Zoar	M.B.S.	Total
(Old) Mennonite	564	434	258	7	..	185	..	..	..	..	..	5	..	2	..	..	27	35	..	1	1518
General Conf.	..	10	27	227	7	..	..	87	81	2	97	83	4	..	71	5	..	..	..	15	716
Mennonite Br.	..	1	1	1	190	..	8	53	4	96	9	..	84	..	1	61	..	..	6	..	515
Central Conf.	..	2	1	..	..	..	148	..	..	..	..	10	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	162
Menn. Unclass.	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	6	3	..	..	..	..	77	..	..	..	..	..	..	86
Krim. Menn. Br.	..	..	..	..	20	..	..	..	6	17	6	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	20	..	69
Evan. Menn. Br.	..	4	..	..	10	..	..	..	43	..	3	..	..	2	..	3	..	..	..	..	65
Conservative Am.	52	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3	..	..	57
Amish Menn.	16	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	9	..	..	..	26
Menn. Br. Chr.	..	13	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	16
O. O. Amish	5	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	8
Defenseless Menn.	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	4	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	..	7
Weavertown Am.	..	..	..	..	..	7	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	7
Rudnerweider	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	5	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	5
Sterling Menn.	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	2
Swiss Menn.	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2
Korning Menn.	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Sommerfelder M.	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Sonnenberg	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
United Menn.	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	1
Total	638	471	289	235	227	193	156	152	138	117	115	102	88	81	72	69	39	38	28	17	3265

Table V

NON-MENNONITE STUDENTS IN MENNONITE SCHOOLS AND COLLEGES, 1945-46

	Bethel	Bluffton	Goshen	Grace	Tabor	Hesston	E.M.S.	Rosthern	M.B.S.	M.B.A.	Freeman	Corn	Immanuel	M.B.B.C.	M.C.I.	Oklahoma	Total
Not Given	76	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	8[1]	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	84
Methodist	15	21	26	..	1	1	1	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	2	68
Unknown	3	35	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	41
Baptist	3	3	8	5	5	3	..	..	..	1	..	3	..	1	..	..	32
Unaffiliated	..	..	10	2	5	5	6	..	..	3[2]	..	..	..	..	..	..	31
Brethren	..	5	19	1	1	1	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	30
Presbyterian	1	7	10	5	1	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	2	..	27
Evangelical	3	4	5	1	2	7	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	24
Lutheran	..	6	5	1	1	..	..	2	..	..	3	..	..	..	1	..	19
United Brethren	..	8	6	3	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	19
Christian	4	3	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	9
Congregational	4	3	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	9
Evangelical Reformed	..	6	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	8
Interdenominational	..	1	2	4	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	8
Roman Catholic	2	5	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	8
Seventh Day Adventist	..	..	..	..	3	..	..	5	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	8
Nazarene	1	..	2	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3	..	..	..	7
Brethren in Christ	..	..	5	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	6
Chr. Missionary Alliance	..	..	1	4	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	6
Church of Christ	..	4	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	5
Church of God	1	..	3	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	5
Congregational Christian	..	3	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	5
Episcopalian	..	3	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	5
Disciples of Christ	..	2	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3
Assembly of God	1	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2
Independent	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2
Reformed	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	2
Anglican	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	1
Apostolic Christian	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Church of Christ in God	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Free Methodist	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Friends	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Greek Catholic	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Hope Gospel	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Salvation Army	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Union	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	1
Total	192	120	120	30	22	18	12	11	8	6	5	4	3	3	3	2	482

[1]Statistics not given for home study students.

[2]Cheyeme Indians

Table VI

States, Provinces, and Countries from Which Mennonite Students Come, Mennonite Schools and Colleges, 1945-46

	E.M.S.	Goshen	Hesston	Bethel	Tabor	Lancaster	Rosthern	M.C.I.	Grace	Immanuel	Freeman	Bluffton	Corn	Oklahoma	M.B.A.	M.B.B.C.	Rockway	Iowa	Zoar	M.B.S.	Total
Kansas	5	11	125	178	99	..	..	..	34	..	..	..	..	9	71	..	..	..	28[1]	5	565
Pennsylvania	205	66	5	..	..	191	..	..	2	..	..	10	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	480
Indiana	10	178	22	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	11	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	222
Virginia	218	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	221
Oklahoma	..	..	5	9	28	..	..	..	8	..	..	..	88	61	..	..	..	..	..	2	201
Ohio	41	72	7	..	..	..	..	..	6	..	..	72	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	198
Manitoba	..	..	..	..	7	..	..	147	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	23	..	..	..	..	180
Saskatchewan	..	..	..	..	9	..	130	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	13	..	..	..	..	154
California	..	2	4	1	17	..	..	..	6	114	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	4	148
South Dakota	..	..	1	11	5	..	..	..	9	..	113	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	139
Iowa	9	22	31	..	..	..	..	..	6	..	..	4	..	..	..	..	..	38	..	..	110
Ontario	36	15	3	..	..	..	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	6	38	..	..	..	100
Illinois	1	54	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	4	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	62
Minnesota	..	9	3	7	15	..	..	..	15	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	49
Maryland	44	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	45
Nebraska	2	..	10	7	5	..	..	..	21	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	45
Alberta	1	2	..	..	..	..	19	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	17	1	..	..	..	43
Oregon	6	4	15	..	6	..	..	..	9	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	40
Michigan	17	12	4	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	33
North Dakota	..	3	4	..	12	..	..	..	13	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	32
New York	17	4	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	21
British Columbia	..	..	..	..	4	..	6	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	10	..	..	..	..	20
Colorado	1	2	14	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	19
Not Given	..	..	1	7	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	11	..	..	..	..	..	..	19
Idaho	..	..	9	5	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	17
Montana	2	1	..	2	6	..	..	..	4	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	16
Mississippi	..	1	11	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	13
Missouri	5	1	5	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	12
Delaware	8	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	8
Florida	1	3	2	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	7
India	..	..	..	2	1	..	..	..	..	2	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	7
Argentina	..	4	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	5
New Jersey	4	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	5
Paraguay	..	..	..	..	4	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	5
West Virginia	4	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	5
Texas	..	..	2	..	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	5
Washington	..	..	..	4	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	4
North Carolina	..	..	1	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3
Arkansas	..	..	1	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2
Africa	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Arizona	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
New Hampshire	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Wisconsin	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Utah	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Total	638	471	289	235	227	193	156	152	138	117	115	102	88	81	72	69	39	38	28	17	3265

[1] It is presumed all Mennonite students are from Kansas.

Table VII

STATES, PROVINCES, AND COUNTRIES FROM WHICH NON-MENNONITE STUDENTS COME, MENNONITE SCHOOLS AND COLLEGES, 1945-46

States	Bluffton	Goshen	Bethel	Grace	Tabor	Hesston	E.M.S.	Rosthern	M.B.S.	M.B.A.	Freeman	Corn	Immanuel	M.B.B.C.	M.C.I.	Oklahoma	Total
Ohio	112	9	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	122
Indiana	..	90	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	90
Not Given	..	..	79	..	..	..	..	..	81	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	87
Kansas	..	..	31	1	17	13	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	2	66
Pennsylvania	2	10	..	..	..	..	6	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	18
Nebraska	..	..	..	15	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	16
Saskatchewan	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	11	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	12
California	..	1	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	3	..	..	..	7
Iowa	1	1	..	5	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	7
Manitoba	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	3	..	6
South Dakota	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	5	..	..	..	..	..	6
Illinois	1	2	..	..	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	5
Montana	1	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	5
Oklahoma	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	3	..	..	..	..	5
Michigan	..	3	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	4
Maryland	..	2	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	4
Minnesota	..	..	..	4	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	4
New York	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3
Virginia	..	..	..	..	..	1	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3
Colorado	..	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2
Dist. of Colum.	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	2
Florida	..	1	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2
Mississippi	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Missouri	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Ontario	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Puerto Rico	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Texas	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Washington	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Total	120	120	115	30	22	18	12	11	8	6	5	4	3	3	3	2	482

[1] Statistics not given for 8 home study students.

Table VIII

Mennonite Students of College Grade, Mennonite Schools and Colleges, 1945-46

School	Men	Women	Total
Goshen	112	236	348
Tabor	79	111	190
Bethel	50	100	150[1]
E.M.S.	55	88	143[2]
Grace	55	83	138
Bluffton	35	47	82
Rosthern	24	27	51
Hesston	9	39	48
M.C.I.	13	29	42
M.B.S.	11	6	17[3]
Freeman	1	11	12
Total	444	777	1221

[1] Summer students and part-time students not included.
[2] Assumed that twelve summer students were all Mennonites.
[3] Statistics not given for 8 part-time students.

Table IX

Mennonite Students not of College Grade, Mennonite Schools and Colleges, 1945-46

School	Men	Women	Total
E.M.S.	206	289	495
Hesston	121	120	241
Lancaster			193[1]
Goshen	46	77	123
Immanuel			117[1]
M.C.I.	57	53	110
Rosthern	56	49	105
Freeman	50	53	103
Corn	36	52	88
Bethel			85[1]
Oklahoma	40	41	81
M.B.A.	34	38	72
M.B.B.C.	51	21	72
Iowa	16	22	38
Tabor	10	27	37
Zoar	9	19	28
Rockway	11	16	27
Bluffton	4	16	20
Total	747	893	2035[2] 1640[3]

[1] Statistics for the number of men and the number of women not given.
[2] Vertical total. [3] Horizontal total.

Table X

STUDENTS IN SUMMER SESSION, 1945, MENNONITE SCHOOLS AND COLLEGES

School	Men	Women	Total
Goshen	67	99	166
Bethel	16	77	93
Bluffton	23	50	73
E.M.S.	22	7	29
Tabor	15	13	28
Grace	10	2	12
Total	153	248	401

Table XI

TOTAL ATTENDANCE, MEN AND WOMEN, MENNONITE SCHOOLS AND COLLEGES, 1945-46

School	Men	Women	Total
E.M.S.	272	378	650
Goshen	207	384	591
Bethel	89	261	350
Hesston	134	173	307
Tabor	99	150	249
Bluffton	78	144	222
Lancaster			193[2]
Grace	69	99	168
Rosthern	87	80	167
M.C.I.	70	85	155
Freeman	54	66	120
Immanuel			120[2]
Corn	37	55	92
Oklahoma	41	42	83
M.B.A.	38	40	78
M.B.B.C.	51	21	72
Rockway	16	23	39
Iowa	16	22	38
Zoar	9	19	28
M.B.S.	11	6	25[1]
Total	1378	2048	3747[3] 3426[4]

[1] Statistics not given for 8 home study students.
[2] Details not given. [3] Vertical total. [4] Horizontal total.

Table XII

Comparative Enrollment Statistics, 1928-1946

Year	Mennonite	Non-Mennonite	College	Academy	Bible	Other Depts.	Total Below College Grade	Total
1928-29	1025	513	847	569		122	691	1538
1929-30	1259	708	1085	609		273	882	1967
1930-31	1515	665	1234	710	110	126	946	2180
1931-32	1337	591	944	522	259	203	984	1928
1932-33	1135	538	906	416	277	74	767	1673
1933-34	1259	476	921	348	402	64	814	1735
1934-35	1742	530	1025	550	502	195	1247	2272
1935-36	2274	574	1151	1050	470	177	1697	2848
1936-37	2640	496	1242	948	800	146	1894	3136
1937-38	2258	680	1431	821	542	144	1507	2938
1938-39	2221	586	1447	690	530	140	1360	2807
1939-40	2164	628	1560	808	308	116	1236	2792
1940-41	2101	608	1581	688	343	97	1128	2709
1941-42	2218	600	1494	887	294	143	1324	2818
1942-43	2536	424	1341	1063	383	173	1619	2960
1943-44	2408	512	1284	1161	220	255	1636	2920
1944-45	2615	579	1234	1254	392	314	1960	3194
1945-46	3265	482	1678	1523	215	331	2031	3747

Table XIII

Diplomas Given and Degrees Granted, Mennonite Schools and Colleges, 1945-46

Degree	M.B.S.	Tabor	Goshen	Bethel	Bluffton	E.M.S.	Grace	Hesston	Freeman	M.C.I.	Lancaster	Oklahoma	Immanuel	Corn	M.B.A.	Total
B.D.	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
M.R.E.	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3
Th.B.	..	6	14	..	..	6	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	27
B.A.	..	13	40	23	7	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	83
B.S. in Education	..	..	18	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	18
B.S.—Home Econ.	..	..	..	5	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	7
B.S. in Music	..	..	..	..	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3
B.S. in Business	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2
B.R.E.	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Associate in Arts	..	7	17	..	..	..	..	5	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	29
Jr. College Bible	..	..	..	..	..	15	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	15
2-Yr. Dip., Bible	..	1	..	..	..	6	6	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	13
A.A. in Bible	..	..	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3
Two-Year Normal	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	3
One-Year Normal	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	12	..	..	..	..	..	..	12
1-Yr. Secretarial	..	..	9	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	9
Academy	..	15	..	..	..	70	..	62	22	39	24	21	14	16	14	297
Elem. Bible, 4 yrs.	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	14	..	..	14
Elem. Bible, 3 yrs.	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	18	..	18
Elem. Bible 2 yrs.	..	..	..	..	..	5	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	7
Total	3	43	101	30	12	103	8	67	36	39	26	21	28	34	14	565

CANADIAN AGRICULTURAL RECORDS ON MENNONITE SETTLEMENTS, 1875-77

EDITED BY ERNST CORRELL

Annual Report of the Winnipeg Agent, Mr. William Hespeler, for 1874, *dated at Winnipeg, January* 6, 1875.

Source:

Sessional Papers, Volume 8, Session 1875, pp 53-54, printed.

The immigration of 258 families of Russian Menonites who arrived in this Province during the latter part of the season, has added immensely to the prosperity of the country, and I do not hesitate in saying that their untiring energy and endurance has surpassed that of all former settlers. The homes they have erected within the short period of two months, together with the provision they have made for winter requirements gives the appearance of a settlement of twenty years' standing.

Through my communications with the Menonites in Russia, I have every reason to hope for another large immigration, and should the Government think fit to recognize their application for another Reserve, made through me, dated December 28th, I see nothing to prevent an immigration of from 400 to 500 families by the next season.

The States of Dakota, Minnesota, Nebraska, Iowa and Kansas, are making the utmost efforts to secure the immigration of the Menonites, and they have already to a great extent succeeded.

The Railway Companies of the above-mentioned States have shown great liberality towards those settlers, not alone carrying them free from the sea port to their different destinations, but as well conveying their provisions and implements from the Eastern States to their respective homes.

The immigrants that found accommodation in the sheds during the past summer, including 258 Menonite families, numbered 2,846, also a large number of immigrants arrived without reporting themselves at this office, and consequently no record of the number can be obtained.

John Lowe, Secretary, Department of Agriculture, Ottawa, February 27th, 1875, to J. Y. Shantz, Berlin, Ontario.

Source:

Public Archives of Canada.

Ibid: Letter Book Number 9, page 109.

I am directed by the Minister of Agric. to state to you in reply to your letter of the 24th inst. that the Department has a contract with the Dominion Line under which it undertakes to bring the Mennonites from Hamburg to Quebec at £ 5 per adult.

Last year however, the Mennonites were induced to sail by the Allan Line, which did take them for the same price as the Dominion Line offered to take them for. But the Department has no contract with the Allan Line.

There would probably be no difficulty in your paying the money for the passages in Canada, I am, however, to inform you that the Department would write or telegraph to Mr. Jenkins, the Agent General of Canada, in London to pay the passages on your order, such payment to be based on bonus on account of the $100,000. loan. This would probably be the most convenient mode of proceeding.

As regards the Mennonites your Society [Ontario Mennonite Aid Committee. E. C.] brings out by the said of the $100,000 loan or otherwise, your action will be independent as to the line you select. But as regards the Dominion Line, I may inform you that the Government contract with it herein alluded to will enable it to bring out Mennonites for £ 5 sterling for adult and reduction for children in proportion.

John Lowe, Secretary, Department of Agriculture, Ottawa, 2nd April, 1875 to J. E. Klotz, Hamburg.

Source:

Ibid: Letter Book Number 9, page 144.

I am directed by the Minister of Agric- to confirm a telegram sent to you on the 30th ultimo as follows.

"Grant indigent Mennonites reduced fares extent ten thousand dollars."

I am further to explain to you that this credit is placed at your disposition by the request of the Menonites Society of Ontario to be used with the utmost prudence in assisting indigent Menonites in the passage from Hamburg to Quebec.

It is not expected that you will pay any larger amount to assist any individual, Menonite than may after most careful examination be absolutely necessary.

In the distribution of such aid you will act as the Agent of the Mennonite Society they being held responsible to repay to the Government the amount advanced.

Special permission is given to you to act in such capacity.

Those Menonites who will be thus aided do not come under the terms of the contract with the Dominion line, but the Menonites themselves will be free to choose any line. It is, however, to be understood the price paid for the passage from Hamburg to Quebec is not in any case to exceed £ 5 sterling.

The Minister authorizes a commission of $2.00 per adult to be paid to the agents of any steamship line, which may carry such Menonites in the same way as under the present arrangement with the Dominion Line for Menonites brought out under contract with the Government.

The Agent-General is authorized to accept orders issued by you to the extent of $10,000 under the terms of this letter.

John Lowe, Secretary, Department of Agriculture, Ottawa, April 29th, 1875, to J. E. Klotz, Hamburg.

Source:

Ibid: Letter Book Number 9, page 190 and 191.

I am authorized to inform you of the following points of agreement and understanding between the Department and the Mennonite Society of Ontario.

1. Mr. J. Y. Shantz is recognized by the Department as being duly authorized to furnish you from time to time with directions as to the aid to be given to Mennonite Immigrants out of the loan afforded by the Government to that Society.

2. You, as Agent of this Department, are authorized to act in this matter under the directions of Mr. Shantz.

3. The Mennonite Society have accepted a bond from your father Mr. Otto Klotz for the proper administration of the aid you are com-

missioned to afford to indigent Mennonites under the authority of the Departmental letter of April 2nd last.

4. You will account to Mr. Shantz for all orders for aid you may grant.

5. You are authorized to send the Mennonites who are brought out by the Society under the loan referred to, either by the Dominion Line, the Allan or any other line sailing direct to Canada which Mr. Shantz may direct.

Jacob Y. Shantz to the Minister of Agriculture, Ottawa, Winnipeg, July 23rd, 1875.

Source:

Ibid: #14481.

I with Mennonite party alright arrived at Moorehead in four days from Toronto. They were well satisfied with the treatment at Toronto and all through over the route. We stopped at Dufferin near the boundary line to take them on what is termed the Big Plain and to the Pembina Mountains as I and Mr. Hespeler thought that to be the most advisable place for them knowing that the 5 townships that are good for settlement on the Reserve were about all taken. By going over the big Plain to the Pembina Mountains we found it to be excellent good land, but not wood for over 30 miles till we get to the mountains and within 15 miles of the mountains we find no grass or hay land within about 20 miles of the mountains, we find hay land, but no woodland. This did not please them very well, and thought to start for some other tract where there were more wood land and hay land, but as myself and Mr. Hespeler would not know of any other large tract of good land unsettled they have concluded to settle there if they could get a reserve and a large tract that they and all their friends coming could settle there and divide the land off so as they could have the haylands, secured for them and divide it amongst themselves even if it is a distance and also the woodland at the Pembina Mountains.

That is to say, if they had 18 Townships, Township, 2, 3 and 4 from the River Reserve to the Pembina Mountains they would get some woodland off the Mountains and nearest to the River there would be chances to buy at the River and the hay marshes we find most on the Township 3 and 4 about half way between this River and Mountains. Therefore if they have no Reserve it is likely that the woodland will be taken by others of the Mennonites and also the hay marshes as they could not take them as homesteads, so they would not be secured for wood nor hay land without a reserve.

I hope your Honor will excuse me for making such a lengthy and simple statement, because, this is the view they take and I think with good reasons.

We have now landed at Dufferin about 300 families and as they say 170 family now on their way, and about 300 family more have decided to emigrate next year to Manitoba if they can report favourably and they think there will still more come to the conclusion to emigrate if things are favourable. The American Agents reports that there are a great number of those immigrated last year leaving again, there has five families left because their relatives are in the States and other three families went to Dakota near Moorehead to get to supply of a very extensive farmer as they are poor and the grasshoppers destroyed the crop they put out with the exception of potatoes are not destroyed and grasshoppers have now left and those that went to Dakota will likely return in future again.

Wm. Hespeler, Special Immigration Agent, to the Minister of Agriculture, Ottawa, Winnipeg, August 5, 1875.

Source:

Ibid: 14588.

I have the honour to report that up to the present date, as near as can count, 2600 Mennonites arrived in this Province during the present season, of whom about 600 settled upon the old Reserve, and the remaining number are just now settling upon the new Reserve on the west side of Red River, near the boundary line.

They have sent a few members of their community to the western States to buy cattle, which were driven into this Province in one herd; the Custom Collector at West Lynne, Mr. Bradley charged duty upon them as if they were driven to the Province by dealers, and as the law allows every settler his necessary stock of cattle to come in free of duty it seems unfair to claim duty upon them, and I am requested to cause such duty to be refunded to them.

The large number of Mennonites who arrived at **Dufferin**, and who are totally ignorant of the English language and taking into consideration their numerous requirements and advises they require, even regarding their homesteads prompts me to urge the necessity of appointing a person at Dufferin, who speaks German as well as English.

I went to Dufferin after the arrival of the first two lot of Mennonites there, but as my duties required me here I could only stay there until their land selection was complicated, but Mr. Shantz has since gone there to assist them in locating.

I have also to report to you, that several Mennonite families who arrived here recently, left the Province again with the intention of settling in the Western States, and knowing that the Government invested $17.50 upon each Mennonite adult in reducing their passage expenses to this Province, I have taken it upon myself (which although without your instructions, I trust will meet your approval) to collect the said assisted passage money from them before leaving. I have already collected $183.75 from three families who left by last boat, a statement with copy of one of the receipts I gave to each family. I enclose to you should you disapprove of this step, I beg of you to instruct me by telegram. The delegation of **Icelanders** who are at present visiting the Province seem to be well pleased with the Country, they have decided to locate upon the Western Shore of Lake Winnipeg, a locality most admirably suited for them. Mr. Krieger the Govt. Agent for Iceland is at present visiting Lake Winnipeg.

Memo—Routes of Mennonite Immigrants. Department of Agriculture, Ottawa, 27th August, 1875.

Source:

Ibid: Letter Book Number 9, page 300.

	via Detroit	via Sarnia	via Collingwood	Remainder in Ontario
1874				
Mennonite Adults		511	838	96
1875				
Mennonite Adults	1112	945½	†376½	
			*250½	147
Totals	1112	1456½	1420	243

†By N. R.
*By Str. Frances Smith

Otto Klotz [father of J. E. Klotz, agent] to Letellier de St. Just, Minister of Agriculture. Preston, Ontario. October 12th, 1875.

Source:

Ibid: #14963.

. . . Your Agent Mr. Jacob E. Klotz has again succeeded in opening an extensive correspondence with Germans in Russia, he learns both from personal communication as also through letters, that a colony of about 4000 souls, comprising 15 villages of Roman Catholics and 22 villages of Lutherans desire to emigrate to America though without yet having determined where to locate; they have received favorable reports from the Mennonites in Manitoba and one of the leading men among them is on his way to Manitoba with a letter of recommendation from Mr. Jacob E. Klotz to Mr. William Hespeler. These people appear to know that the Mennonites were taken out to Manitoba under reduced passage and it is quite natural that before deciding to select Manitoba or any part of Canada, as their future home, they ask for the like advantages.

As regards assistance similar to that given by the Mennonites of Ontario out of the $100,000 loan fund that I consider entirely out of the question, no other body of Germans could be brought to such unity of action as were the Mennonites under Mr. Shantz's management, but since these Catholic and Lutheran colonists are described as being similar to the Mennonites in habits, industry, occupation and living, there appears no reason why not the same inducements should be given by the Government to them, as are given to the Mennonites.

Therefore I beg to suggest that your Agent, Mr. Jacob E. Klotz be authorized to offer to other German colonists in Russia, not being Mennonites, the same inducements as regards reduced ocean passage and reduced fare to Manitoba as are now given to the Mennonites; it always being understood that the Agent act under instruction from the Department in order to guard against any abuse of such reduced passage privilege.

It is no doubt true that already large sums of money have been expended by the Government for Immigration purposes, but neither is there any doubt that money judiciously expended for that purpose will prove the best investment.

The result of Mr. Jacob E. Klotz's operations in the field of emigration during last winter has been beyond expectation, through his extensive correspondence and personal canvass he secured nearly 4000 good settlers for Manitoba, those that were forwarded in summer being: over 12 years 1774 between 1 and 12 years 1171 under one 298, in all 3243, these brought with them 466500 rubels which he exchanged for them in Hamburg realizing about $310,000 making nearly $100 upon every man, woman and child that went into Manitoba; about 100 families of those that had notified Mr. Jacob E. Klotz of their intention to immigrate to Manitoba remained behind, not being able to get ready in time, of these about twenty passed through this County last saturday on their way to Manitoba and for next summer he has fair prospects of being able to forward more Mennonites to Manitoba.

With these facts and prospects before us I do not think it too sanguine to expect that our Western Province will at no distant day be as well settled as some of the best western States, if the Government continues and extends its aid by way of assisted passage.

Annual Report of the Winnipeg Agent, Mr. William Hespeler, for 1876, dated at Winnipeg, December 26, 1876, printed.

Source:

Annual Report of the Minister of Agriculture, 1876, p. 41, printed.

All the immigrants that arrived at this Agency during the present year came *via* the United States, the former Government Road (Dawson road) having been closed.

The number accommodated at the sheds during the season are as follows:—

Canadian Provinces	256
United States	145
Great Britain	19
Iceland	1,226
Mennonites from Russia	931
Total	2,577

The Mennonites who arrived during the present year at this Agency settled upon the Reserve set apart for them on the east side of the Red River. The available land upon said reserve is now almost entirely settled.

There are at present 35 villages within the said reserve, averaging 20 houses in each village, with in all 5,000 acres under cultivation by next season.

The Mennonite settlement near Scratching River consists of two villages, in all 30 houses, which will have 900 acres under seed by next spring.

The new Mennonite Reserve of 17 Townships (Dufferin Reserve) had, during the present year, an increase of immigration to the extent of about 80 families, making in all a population of about 380 families settled in 18 villages, with 1,500 acres of land broken and ready for seed.

The returns of the crops in general within the Province are very satisfactory, although having suffered from the effects of unusual heavy rains.

Report on Colonization in Manitoba, J. W. Down, dated Toronto, August 2, 1876.

Source:

Report of Minister of Agriculture, pp. 67-69, printed.

Sir,—I have the honour to lay before you the following report, resulting from my travels, and from enquiries made in the Province of Manitoba.

The information contained therein is not gathered from mere hearsay, but from personal inspection and conversation with actual settlers from nearly all nations, from the Mennonite to the Indian, and I vouch for its correctness.

On Monday morning, July 3rd, Mr. Hespeler and myself left Winnipeg, and crossing the Assinniboine River, drove up the west side of the Red River, as far as the Scratching River, where we drove out and visited the Mennonites settled there, and camped for the night. I found 29 families living in this small village. These people settle differently to other emigrants; they all live in villages, each village being some three or four miles apart. When they first move in on to these lands, they build sod houses, in which they live for the first year. All seem to be united, and are as one family. They work very hard and economically; for instance they save a great deal of labour in fencing. They merely fence one main road through the village, together

with a small yard to each house. One man herds all the cattle, horses &c., on the prairie by day; he calls at each house in the morning and takes the cattle away together on the prairies; at night he brings them back again and shuts them up in the yards until the following morning. Each village has its own herder. These Mennonites on the Scratching River moved in on these lands in September, 1874, without a house, or even a tent, nothing but the sky for their roof. They were fully eight miles from firewood or lumber. I find them now settled in two villages; each has a good frame house, well built, and some of them very large. They have large herds of cattle, oxen and horses, and this year seven hundred acres of wheat barley, oats and potatoes. I went over the land, and better looking crops I never saw in any country. They have also 225 acres, newly broken up for next year, and still keep breaking more. Each family has a splendid garden, very clean, and full of all kinds of vegetables. They have also a number of mowers, reapers, hay rakers and threshing machines. Of course these people had money with them when they moved in; but every bit of the work has been done by their own hands; not even a man was employed at either house or building in this settlement.

On the Mennonite Reserve east of the Red River, commonly called the Rat River Settlement, I find there are 380 families, who moved in during 1874-5, settled in 32 villages, each of which has a name, called, I presume, after the village they left in Southern Russia.

These people have a little over four thousand acres under crop, and a large quantity breaking and broken for next year.

Each has built a house, stable, &c., and there are two churches. They have made capital roads, and even built bridges.

I should have said that those on the Scratching River are building a bridge across it this summer.

On the Mennonite Reserve west of the Red River, called the Dufferin Settlement, we spent nearly two days. I found here 300 families settled in various villages a few miles apart. The first party of these moved in last September and some this spring. All are living at present in the sod houses; but each is building a good house either of lumber or hewn logs. They have also a capital frame built church. These people have 1,475 acres under crop, chiefly wheat and potatoes. A large quantity of it was only broken this spring, and the grain sown on the green sod; nevertheless the crops look well, especially the potatoes. The wheat I would consider likely to yield a good half crop, or say about 15 bushels per acre. These as well as the others have large herds of cattle, waggons, ploughs, harrows, and all kinds of farming implements; in fact, I think every family in all these settlements has either horses and waggon or oxen and waggon, and all kinds of implements for use.

I noticed large numbers moving in from Emerson to both Reserves.

These Mennonites are, without doubt, the best settlers that ever emigrated to the Province. No man could believe what these people have done in so short a time.

As I visited almost every family, and saw for myself, I can vouch for its correctness that they stand just as I have written.

They are settled on the open prairie land, many miles away from timber, very few nearer than eight or ten miles, and more, nearer twenty miles. I spoke to several of them on this point. My answer in every case, "We do not mind that; we have good land and can grow good crops." In fact all are quite satisfied, and appear to be the most happy set of people it has been my lot to meet. They are very kind and sociable, and will make good neighbours to those who settle next to them. Many of them already speak English, especially the children. The land on their Reserves is very good, and they have both lands for grain and hay, and plenty of good water by dig-

ging from four to twenty feet. In fact, whoever lives to see a few years roll by, will see these Mennonites a very wealthy and respectable race in that great Province.

In my three weeks steady travel over this Province, I have seen nothing as regards industry equal to the Mennonites. They are, and no mistake, a hive of busy bees, and a credit to any country.

I had almost forgotten to state that the Mennonites on the Rat River Reserve east of the Red River are building two windmills, in order to grind their own grain, &c. I heard it reported before I reached Manitoba that the Mennonites were leaving the Province and going over to the United States. I made particular enquiries as to the cause of this, and found that eight families had left the settlement on the Scratching River, and gone to the States of Nebraska and Kansas, and two families from the Reserve east of the Red River had friends in those States whom they wished to join; this was the sole cause of these families leaving Manitoba, and the above the sole cause of their leaving the Province.

Extract from Report of Minister of Agriculture, 1876.

Source:

Report of Minister of Agriculture, 1876, p. xvi, printed.

An addition to the Mennonite colonists in the Province of Manitoba, was made by a further arrival of 1,357 more Mennonites from South Russia. A portion of these were of the poorer class, having been assisted in the passage from Hamburg by a remittance from the Mennonite Committee of Ontario, and further assisted in their settlement by an advance from the Mennonite Loan voted by Parliament. The amount of the remittance to assist in the passage, as stated by Mr. Klotz, was $4,451. They were also assisted in their settlement from the Mennonite Loan. Another portion of this party brought with them a considerable amount of money, Mr. Klotz having reported that he exchanged at Hamburg for them Russian roubles for bills on the Bank of Montreal to the amount of $170,000.

The total number of Mennonites who have now settled in Manitoba is 6,147; and more are yet expected to arrive. The agreement made by the Department with the delegates who visited Canada in 1873, extends to 1882, that being the limit of time within which the delegates stated the Czar would permit this emigration from Russia to take place. The reports from those Mennonites who have settled in Manitoba are satisfactory. Their condition is particularly described in a narrative of a visit made to Manitoba by Mr. J. W. Down, of Bristol, Eng., in the Appendix No. 19 to this report. Mr. Down's visit was for the purpose of examining into the suitability of the Province of Manitoba for English colonization.

Report of Dufferin (Manitoba) *Immigration Agent, Mr. J. E. Tetu, for* 1876, *dated Dufferin, December* 15, 1876.

Source:

Report of Minister of Agriculture, 1876, pp. 82-84, printed.

Sir,—I have the honour to submit to you, my first Annual Report, on the operations of this Agency.

The tide of immigration commenced to flow, as usual on the opening of navigation.

Besides the richness of our soil, the reserves of land made in favour of the Russian Mennonites, of the Colonization Society of Manitoba, and the Icelanders, powerfully co-operate in the colonization of the country. In

each of these cases, they are lands entirely unoccupied, removed from the centres and devoid of all wood, which have been granted to the colonists of such or such an origin, who have entered the Province upon the suggestion of their fellow countrymen. The opening up of these lands would be very difficult, if not impossible, at least for the present, to the immigrant single-handed, whereas, when acting in bodies, the matter becomes profitable to the immigrant and the country. It is easy to convince one's self of this fact by glancing at the immense extent of excellent lands open to colonization and still unoccupied, notwithstanding the fact that they are situate more in the neighbourhood of the centres than those which form part of the reserves. Further, the establishment of these reserves so far from being a burden on the Dominion, or the Province, is one of the great means of colonization which we have, and if there is any burden to be borne, it is so solely by those who, without any remuneration, turn their attention to immigration of this nature.

The Dominion Government has rendered a great service to this Province by granting assistance and seed grain to its colonists so cruelly tried during past years. The Central Aid Committee at Winnipeg, has acquitted itself of its task with justice, and in a manner to give satisfaction to the public, often a difficult matter.

There have been received into the sheds, during the last twelve months:—

Immigrants:—	Russian Mennonites	1,349
"	French Canadian origin	324
"	Anglo Saxon origin	42
"	Icelanders	24
	Total	1,739
Immigrants, came from Russia		1,349
" "	from United States	348
" "	from Canadian Provinces	42
	Total	1,739

It is impossible for me to give the total number of immigrants who have entered the country this year. The only mode of procuring it, would be to furnish, in the spring season, the book-keeper of each passenger steamer on the Red River with blank forms, showing the number, origin, &c., of immigrants on each trip, and these blank forms so soon as they are filled up should be handed over to the Custom House Officer instructed to receive them, in order to forward them to me afterwards.

Report of Government Immigration Agent in Hamburg, Mr. Jacob E. Klotz, for 1876, *dated Hamburg, January* 2, 1877.

Source:

Report of Minister of Agriculture, pp. 89-91, printed.

Sir,—I beg herewith to present a report of my labours during the past year, 1876.

My labours during the past twelve months have been principally directed to the Mennonite emigration from Russia, and, considering the great difficulties I had to contend with, such being equally great as in former years, my labours have not been without success.

The returns of the number of Mennonite emigrants from South Russia, for the year 1876, are not equal to those of the previous year, caused partly by the bad crops in South Russia, but principally by the bad crops in Manitoba through the grasshopper plague of said Province. Besides this fact being made known to the Mennonites of South Russia, which in itself made them rather dubious, designing parties pictured this plague in the blackest of colours, and tried to place Manitoba in the worst possible light, so as to prevent the intending Mennonite emigrants from seeking said Province as their future home; thus as late as the latter part of last winter I could hardly hope to secure more than two or three hundred of these people for Manitoba. But, through my incessant writing and refuting the base assertions of these designing parties, and giving proofs of my arguments, I was enabled to secure a considerably larger number than at first anticipated.

The number of Mennonite emigrants shipped during 1876 for Manitoba, and coming through my immediate agency, was 1,374 souls (225 families), 770 above 12 years of age, 505 between 1 and 12 years, and 99 infants, being, according to ocean passage paid, equal to 1022½ adults and 99 infants. Among these were 46 indigent families, to whom I, under instructions of Mr. Jacob Y. Shantz, of Berlin, Ontario, extended assistance in the ocean passage amounting in the aggregate to $4,451.49, and 25 indigent families who were assisted by their wealthier brethren. These latter, belonged to the last large lot that arrived at Quebc (30th July), and were under the leadership of Mr. Jacob Peters, who, in 1873, visited Canada as one of the delegates from South Russia.

The amount of money exchanged by the above Mennonites under my supervision, and after the ocean fare had been paid, amounted to 215,000 rubles. Besides this amount I have lately received from South Russia, for transmission to Manitoba, 50,000 rubles, which I have exchanged for drafts on the Bank of Montreal and remitted the same according to instructions to the respective parties in Manitoba. This makes the total amount brought to Canada by the Mennonites during the year 1876, 265,000 rubles, or about $170,000 gold.

The above mentioned emigrants, with the few exceptions that died during the journey, have safely arrived at their destination.

All told, within the last three years, and through my agency, 6,175 Mennonites have been shipped at this port for and are now settled in Manitoba. And the total amount of cash brought by these people to said Province amounts to considerably over six hundred thousand dollars.

As to next spring's emigration from South Russia to Canada, I may say that I am in constant and active correspondence with the Mennonites of said section, and hope to show good returns again this coming season, although at present it is difficult to say what the prospects may be.

I have sent to the different Mennonite colonies of South Russia an account of the last Manitoba crops, and that such was favourably received, subsequent letters from there show.

Report of Special Immigration Agent in Hamburg, Mr. Jacob E. Klotz, for 1877, *dated Hamburg, December* 15, 1877.

Source:

Report of Minister of Agriculture, 1877, pp. 165-168, printed.

Sir,—I have the honour herewith to submit a Report of my operation during the year 1877 as Immigration Agent of the Dominion of Canada in Germany.

My labours during the year have been more particularly directed to Mennonite emigration from South Russia, and I am sorry to say my la-

bours have not been crowned with the same success as in previous years. This result was not caused from want of energy on my part. As is evident from my letter-book and correspondence received from Russia, I have spared no pains to obtain good results, but circumstances were greatly against me. The principal cause that so few Mennonites emigrated during the year is the great Russian war with the Turks; not that the intending emigrants could not leave on account of said war, but principally on account of not being able to dispose of their landed property and chattels, unless at ruinous prices. Buyers were very scarce, and the few that would buy offered prices quite unacceptable to the owners. Besides this, it must be remembered that the Russian currency has depreciated about 35 per cent, so that by the time these people would reach Hamburg and exchange their remaining roubles for dollars, hardly anything would be left them wherewith to start a new home on the Canadian prairies, and it must also be remembered that quite a goodly number of these intending Mennonite emigrants are indigent, and must depend on being assisted in the event of emigrating, by their wealthier brethren, who under existing circumstances, could not assist the indigent to the required extent, and not being inclined to leave the poor behind, both classes remained. These are the main and principal reasons why the Mennonite emigration has been so small during this year. Nevertheless, had I been in a position, as in previous years, to offer the indigent an assistance in ocean fare, I would have succeeded in increasing the number of emigrants very considerably. Not having been in a position to grant the desired assistance, I had to answer the inquiries and solicitations from the Mennonites, in this respect, in the negative, which caused great depression amongst them, and a communication that under such circumstances hardly any would emigrate during 1877. Upon receiving such information I had lost all hopes of any coming this year; nevertheless I succeeded in inducing 36 families to emigrate and settle in Manitoba, being equal to 126 *above the age of eight years, 37 between one and eight years, and 22 infants—total* 185 *souls.*

The amount of roubles exchanged by Mennonites under my supervision, and after the ocean fare had been paid, amounted to 40,000 roubles. Besides this, I have at different times received roubles from the Mennonites of South Russia amounting to several thousand, for transmission to Mennonites in Manitoba, which I have exchanged for drafts on the Bank of Montreal, and remitted the same according to instructions to the respective parties in Manitoba.

The Mennonite emigration to the United States has also been very small during this year.

I may here mention that, according to one of the daily papers of this city, the Congress of the Argentine Republic has voted and granted 200,000 dollars, besides many other facilities, towards assisting and bringing the Mennonite emigrants from Russia to said Republic.

I immediately, upon reading of His Excellency the Governor General's visit to Manitoba, communicated such to the Mennonites of South Russia. And later, upon receiving a Canadian paper with the Address presented to His Excellency by the Mennonites of said Province, together with His Excellency's reply thereto, I had several hundred copies of said address and reply printed, and sent to the different Mennonite Colonies of South Russia for distribution, and, according to many letters received from these since the visit of His Excellency to the Mennonites of Manitoba, they have made a most favourable impression.

Being in constant communication with the Mennonites of Manitoba, I received from them at the earliest moment announcement of the splendid

harvest of said Province, which I lost no time in communicating forthwith to the Mennonites of South Russia, and that such has also made a good and favourable impression many subsequent letters from there show.

On the whole, the reports from the new settlers in Manitoba to their brethren in Russia are most favourable. But also some very unfavourable reports reach them from interested parties, who circulated such to damage the Mennonite emigration to Canada. To enumerate such vile and base rumours would make this Report too voluminous; I would therefore only refer you to the one concerning the reported Marriage Laws of Manitoba, in reference to which I wrote to the London office under date 17th July. This, as all other rumours, I have so far successfully refuted.

On the whole, as before stated, the reports from the new settlers in Manitoba are very favourable; but such is not sufficient, under present circumstances, to induce a large emigration during the coming season.

From the foregoing it is evident that an assistance must be given to the indigent Mennonite emigrant, if Canada desires a further fair share of these people. The wealthier, as many have written to me, are prepared to advance the necessary funds for the ocean fare of their indigent, provided they are refunded soon after arrival in Canada, as was done in previous years. In this respect I have exchanged many letters with Mr. Shantz, and hope he may be successful in securing the necessary funds for the desired and needful assistance.

Several Agents, as I am informed by the Mennonites, are at present travelling through the Mennonite Colonies, operating in the interest of the Hamburg and Bremen Steamship Companies hence for the United States. To frustrate the schemes of the mentioned Agents in those sections, at least from where I have been successful in obtaining emigrants, shall be my problem, and I hope to succeed.

I have also succeeded in making some new connections in the South of Russia—districts from which Canada has had no emigrants as yet—and from correspondence received from there have all hopes of having some success. I have also lately made quite a number of new connections in the Saratow and Volga Districts, from whence I am endeavouring to secure emigrants for Canada.

Report of Visit to Mennonite Settlements in Manitoba, Mr. Jacob Y. Shantz, dated Berlin, Ontario, October 30, 1877.

Source:

Report of Minister of Agriculture, 1877, pp. 72, 73, printed.

SIR,—I have the honour to inform you that I, in company with Mr. Reesor, visited the Mennonite Reserve on the east side of the Red River in the so-called Rat River Settlement, on the 19th September last, and went through most of the Mennonite villages.

RAT RIVER SETTLEMENT.

I was much pleased and thankful to God to find the settlers all well, cheerful and hopeful. They are all well satisfied with the country and location.

They had a good harvest with a few exceptions on the low, flat land, where the unusual heavy rains had drowned some of the crops.

There are in this settlement 38 villages, with from 10 to 34 families in a village; the smaller ones will be enlarged by some that are yet living together, on account of not having the means to build at present. The size of a village depends on the location of the surrounding land. As they take all the sec-

tions, not leaving any lying between them, it will occasionally be necessary to make the villages larger or smaller, so as to have the hay land and arable land properly laid off in equal proportions. They divide the land that belongs to a village so that every one has equal hay land, and also equal arable land, and their pasture land is all together for each village, so that one herdsman can tend the cattle.

There is another advantage to be gained by settling in villages, as there are many amongst them without sufficient means to start on land. These are assisted in ploughing on their homesteads (so as to secure them) in return for labour; they also get their oxen and provisions by way of loan, without interest, amongst themselves, as far as they can with the means they have, for as yet they have not all got oxen.

They estimate their wheat crop to average about 25 bushels to the acre. They have three windmills and one steam mill with one run of stones, so that they can do their own gristing. The total number of families in this settlement is 700.

PEMBINA SETTLEMENT.

On the 5th October I arrived in this settlement, which commences 22 miles from Emerson, on the boundary line. I found the people busy threshing, and about to finish their house and stables.

In this settlement there are in 25 villages, 485 families, of which 303 settled in 1875, 147 in 1876, and 35 this summer. As they are from 10 to 20 miles from the timbered land, they made houses the first year by digging 3 to 4 feet down and putting up posts, and beams across, covered over with earth. During the winter they hauled timber from the bush, and have since put up good warm log-houses and stables. There are a few who still live in their earth houses.

In this settlement there are yet about 50 families without oxen, but they are assisted in the same manner as in the other settlement, by way of loan amongst themselves, as much as possible; but as only about one-half gathered harvest from the second ploughing, and as some arrived only this summer, it will require nearly all their crops raised this year, to give them a living and provide seed for next year.

SCRATCHING RIVER SETTLEMENT.

This settlement, located on the west side of the Red River, on Scratching River, has two villages with 32 families, 16 in each; they settled in 1874, and therefore are well situated, and have good crops.